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THE ENGLISH MALADY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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“LA philosophie, la liberté, et le climat, conduisent à la misanthropie : Londres, qui n'a point de Tartufes, est plein de Timons,” says Voltaire after his visit to England in 1726. To the modern reader, this seems at first a surprising comment upon the brilliant “Augustan Age.” Whatever charge may be brought against the Town of George I. with its glamour and gaiety, its literary circles of coffee-house and salon, its assemblies, theatres and balls, in short its polished and witty social life, the last we expect is one of misanthropy, of melancholy.

Nevertheless, when we discover that Voltaire's opinion is shared not only by distinguished contemporaries abroad, but also by many of the most observant and best-informed Englishmen of his time, we cannot dismiss it as the prejudice or misunderstanding of a foreigner. To these it seemed that England lay under the curse of “Spleen.”

It is true that the disease made its appearance in England long before the opening of the Eighteenth Century, having left its most significant mark upon our literature in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, which first appeared in 1621. From time to time throughout the seventeenth century we find traces of its course, traces which become more numerous and distinct as the century nears its close.

When Geta, in Sir William Killigrew's *Pandora*, says of Lonzartes : “Only some fumes from his heart, Madam, makes his head

addle, 'tis called the spleen of late and much in fashion," we learn that as early as 1664 the spleen had become a fashionable complaint.

Sir William Temple, writing before the close of the seventeenth century, quotes in support of his own opinion, "The great foreign physician" who had said that England was "the region of spleen." Temple was so impressed by the absence of the complaint amongst the Dutch that he interrupts his story in *Observations upon the United Provinces*, to insert a lengthy account of the English Malady. He suggests that the spleen "may arise from the great uncertainty and many sudden changes of our weather in all seasons of the year. And how much these affect the heads and hearts, especially of the finest tempers, is hard to be believed by men whose thoughts are not turned to such speculations. This makes us unequal in our humours, inconstant in our passions, uncertain in our ends, and even in our desires."

The reality of this morbid streak in the temper of the Eighteenth Century is clearly shown in its literature, although it is so mingled with opposite and more prominent qualities as easily to escape notice. The medical writings of the time include many quaint and curious treatises upon the disease.

In 1674, one Richard Browne, "Apothecary in Oakham in the county of Rutland," issued *Medicina Musica, or a Mechanical Essay on the Effects of Singing, Musick, and Dancing on Human Bodies, to which is annexed a New Essay on the Nature and Cure of the Spleen and Vapours*. The work entered a second edition in 1729. Browne had no doubt studied Burton's *Anatomy*, and like Burton believes music and dancing to be reliable cures for the disease. Like Burton, too, Browne cites the story of David and Saul as a proof of the curative power of music. David, he tells us, employed this method when Saul was "in a fit of the spleen, with which distemper, in a high degree, it is far more probable he was troubled, than with an evil spirit."

Thomas Sydenham, the famous seventeenth-century physician, has left us an interesting and detailed account of the symptoms of the spleen, which is unfortunately too long to quote. It is interesting, however, to find that the accounts given later by the periodical essayists, the novelists and poets of the Eighteenth Century, are in close agreement with Sydenham's description.

Sir Richard Blackmore turned aside for a moment from his medicine bottles and his epics, to produce in 1725 a *Treatise of the*

Spleen and Vapours, as well as *A Critical Dissertation on the Spleen*. Here too we have ample evidence of the widespread havoc made by the malady. The English, he tells us, suffer from

hypocondriacal and hysterick affections vulgarly called the spleen and the vapours, in a superior and distinguishing degree. And of all the chronical distempers that afflict the body, or disturb the mind, these two, consumptions and the spleen, are in this kingdom the most rife and prevalent, and either directly by their own power, or by introducing other diseases, make the greatest havoc and destruction among the people.

Blackmore agrees with Temple and the "great foreign physician" in regarding England as the home of spleen.

I am well assured (he says), there is no less reason to give to the distemper I have chosen for the subject of this treatise, the appellation of the *English Spleen* : since it has here gained such a universal and tyrannical dominion over both sexes, as incomparably exceeds its power in other nations ; . . . for though in foreign climates, especially those nearer the sun, disorders of mind, lunacy and disturbed imagination are very frequent, yet the *English Spleen*, as I have now named it, is comparatively but seldom found among the inhabitants of other countries.

In 1733, Dr. George Cheyne, a well-known physician, who had himself fallen a victim to the disease, issued a work on the spleen, entitled *The English Malady*, which Johnson recommended to Boswell.

The title I have chosen for this treatise (he remarks in the Preface) is a reproach universally thrown on this island by foreigners and all our neighbours on the continent, by whom Nervous Distemper, Spleen, Vapours and Lowness of spirits are in derision called the English Malady. And I wish there were not so good grounds for this reflexion !

Like Blackmore, Cheyne laments the widespread ravages of the disease. He has been led to write the work by "the late frequency and daily increase of wanton and uncommon self-murders, produced mostly by this distemper." He is terrified at the prospect, for the climate, the soil, sedentary occupations, the growth of towns and of luxury,

have brought forth a class of distemper with atrocious and frightful symptoms, scarce known to our ancestors, and never rising to such fatal heights, nor afflicting such numbers in any known nation. These nervous disorders being computed to make almost one-third of the complaints of the people of condition in England.

Discussion of the fashionable disease was not left to physicians alone. Everywhere in the literature of the time we find the influence of the malady. Jeremy Collier includes an essay *Of the Spleen* in his *Essays upon Several Moral Subjects*.

This disease (says Blackmore in his treatise) is what neither sex is pleased to own. One great reason why these patients are unwilling their disease should go by its right name is, I imagine, this, that the spleen and vapours are by those that never felt the symptoms, looked upon as an imaginary and fantastic sickness of the brain, filled with odd and irregular ideas; and accordingly they make the complaints of such patients the subject of mirth and raillery.

In this passage, Blackmore indicates the general attitude of the periodical essayists to the victims of spleen. That, when the disease became a fashion, and before ridicule was turned upon them, many falsely laid claim to the distinction of spleen is clearly shown in the literature of the period. Jeremy Collier, with his shrewd common sense, makes no mistake, and does not fail to distinguish between the real and pretended victims. To the first he offers excellent advice, incidentally making general statements that reflect his shrewdness.

Some men can scarcely talk sense unless the sun shines out. Understanding requires a kind climate as well as plants. And if a man would make nice remarks, he might almost tell in what latitude, season, and circumstances a book was written. Generally speaking, northern and southern wit differ almost as much as fruits; by consequence, summer and winter must have a proportionable influence.

For the mere pretenders to spleen he has some hard strokes:—

'Tis commonly said the Spleen is a *Wise Disease*, which I believe makes some fond of catching it. 'Tis possible it may be the only symptom of sense they have about them. But if a man can show his understanding no better way than by troubling himself and the company, let him e'en pretend to it no longer, but rather make it his business to be a fool.

The periodical essayists of the Eighteenth Century follow in similar vein. As early as 1708, Steele wrote a skit on the malady for the *Tatler*, in which he tells how he cured Tom Spindle, a poet, of a bad attack. In 1713 he contributed another article on spleen to the *Guardian*, in which he gives amusing descriptions of splenetic friends. Like Addison and most of the periodical essayists who

attacked the fashion of spleen, Steele believes it is caused by idleness. One friend blames the University, for there

youth are too apt to be lulled into a state of such tranquillity as prejudices them against the bustle of that worldly business, for which this part of their education should prepare them. As he could with the utmost secrecy be idle in his own chamber, he says he was for some years irrecoverably sunk, and immersed in the luxury of an easy-chair, though at the same time, in the general opinion, he passed for a hard student.

In the *Spectator* of 1711, Addison twice satirises these pretended splenetics. Three years later, he describes a dream in which he saw the human race throwing down its burdens :

One little packet (he adds) I could not but take notice of, which was a complication of all the diseases incident to human nature, and was in the hand of a great many fine people : this was called the spleen.

The best description of the spleen given by the Eighteenth Century essayists, however, is Goldsmith's in his ninetieth letter to *The Citizen of the World*, entitled "The English Subject to the Spleen." It begins in humorous vein, and Goldsmith's delicate humour is never absent, but the realistic picture which he gives of the malady suggests that he is there drawing upon his own experience. "The man in black" explains how some nights previously he had read of the practices of certain criminals, which provided

an instance of such complicated guilt and hypocrisy, that I threw down the book in an agony of rage, and began to think with malice of all the human kind. I sat silent for some minutes, and soon perceiving the ticking of my watch beginning to grow noisy and troublesome, I quickly placed it out of hearing and strove to resume my serenity. But the watchman soon gave me a second alarm. I had scarcely recovered from this, when my peace was assaulted by the wind at the window ; and when that ceased to blow, I listened for death-watches in the wainscot. I now found my whole system discomposed. I strove to find a resource in philosophy and reason ; but what could I oppose, or where direct my blow, when I could see no enemy to combat ? I saw no misery approaching nor knew any I had to fear, yet still I was miserable. Morning came ; I sought for tranquillity in dissipation, sauntered from one place of public resort to another, but found myself disagreeable to my acquaintance and ridiculous to others. I tried at different times dancing, fencing, and riding ; I solved geometrical problems, shaped tobacco-stoppers, wrote verses and cut paper. At last I placed my affections on music, and find that earnest employment, if it cannot cure, at least will palliate every anxiety.

It would, indeed, seem that spleen was seldom far absent from the thought of the Eighteenth Century. Shaftesbury inserts a reference to it even in the midst of a "philosophical rhapsody." Shenstone, writing of "Men and Manners," turns aside for a moment to tell us that "Spleen is often little else than obstructed perspiration." Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in one of her letters recommends Dr. Sydenham's works as a help to the sufferer. Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* inserts an ironical parody of the disease, representing a Yahoo in a fit of the spleen.

The novels of the Eighteenth Century, too, reveal the extent of the English malady. We might indeed, with but little exaggeration, seek to show that the necessity for distraction from spleen was one of the influences leading to the creation of the modern novel, for Fielding and Sterne tell us their work was written to counteract the depression caused by the disease.

Of *Tristram Shandy* Sterne says, "If 'tis wrote against anything 'tis wrote, an' please your worships, against the spleen," and he proceeds to combine with his constant laughter against antiquated scientific treatises, a burlesque of the Eighteenth-century works on spleen.

If from these direct statements of the authors, we turn to examine the contents of the novels of the age, here too, in the prevalence of spleen and vapours amongst the characters, we find an indication of the growth of the disease or affection.

Defoe tells us that Robinson Crusoe, upon finding the mysterious footprint in the sand, had an attack of vapours "to the highest degree so that I shook like one in an ague;" and long afterwards when the returned wanderer dreams of the famous island, he is seized with "ecstacies of vapours."

Fielding shows the long-suffering Amelia in the grip of the malady :

"One of the worst disorders that can possibly attend a woman; a disorder very common among the ladies, and our physicians have not agreed upon its name. Some call it the fever on the spirits, some a nervous fever, some the vapours and some the hystericks," says Booth, describing it. "O say no more," cries Miss Mathews; "I pity you, I pity you from my soul. A man had better be plagued with all the curses of Egypt than with a vapourish wife!" (And Booth replying, describes it in language which is partly that of Addison, as) "a sort of complication of all diseases together, with almost madness added to them."

In the works of Sterne spleen frequently appears. He tells us that he cannot mention the word *gay* without thinking of *spleen*. Spleen he considers "the best principle in the world to travel speedily upon," but after "experience of its working," he adds that "though you do get on at a tearing rate, yet you get on but uneasily to yourself at the same time; for which reason I here quit it entirely and for ever; and 'tis heartily at any one's service; it has spoiled me the digestion of a good supper."

Even Corporal Trim knew the vapours. In *A Sentimental Journey*, spleen makes many appearances, but the majority are references to Smollett and his kind, as the splenetic traveller. Here Sterne brings us to another effect of spleen, travel, especially foreign travel, as a distraction.

Your idle people (he says), that leave their native country and go abroad for some reason or reasons, which may be derived from one of these general causes :

Infirmity of body,
Imbecility of mind, or
Inevitable necessity.

The two first include all these who travel by land or water, labouring with pride, curiosity, vanity or spleen, subdivided and combined in infinitum.

And later he speaks of "splenetic travellers" as a class.

Despite the unfairness of Sterne's well-known allusion to Smollett, there can be no doubt that the *Travels through France and Italy* are the record of a splenetic traveller. In Smollett's novels the malady appears. In *Roderick Random* we have a graphic description of Narcissa's aunt who under the influence of spleen "actually believed herself a hare beset by hunters." This seems greatly exaggerated until we remember that in Pope's description of splenetics in *The Rape of the Lock* one believed herself "a goosepie," and Pope took the trouble to assert in a footnote the truth of his description.

Smollett saw in spleen and the cunning exploitation of it by physicians, a reason for the increasing fame and prosperity of Bath. Celinda, in *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, suffers from "vapours and dejection"; Crabtree in *Peregrine Pickle* is a splenetic after Smollett's own heart, and so is Matthew Bramble in *Humphrey Clinker*, who on one occasion is forced hastily to conclude a letter to his doctor, because he "feels the spleen creeping upon him apace."

In the drama of the Eighteenth Century spleen also appears, though less often, it would seem, than one would expect after noting

its frequency in the essays, novels and poems of the time. In Colley Cibber's *The Double Gallant* or *The Sick Lady's Cure* (1707), Lady Dainty appears as the fashionable pretender to the English malady.

Perhaps English dramatists, feeling themselves overshadowed by Molière's *Malade Imaginaire*, were afraid to take such a kindred subject. Cibber's comedy probably owes something to the great French writer, and George Colman's *The Spleen* or *Islington Spa* (1776) is admittedly based upon Molière's comedy. In Colman's very short and weak farce we meet D'Oyley, a retired and wealthy draper, in the spleen, a poor imitation of Molière's *Argan*. The play nevertheless gives us some little knowledge of the nature and cure of spleen.

It was, however, on the poetry of the Eighteenth Century that the spleen left its mark most clearly. In 1709 Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea, published her tiny volume of sixteen pages, *The Spleen, a Pindarique Ode. By a Lady. Together with a Prospect of Death: A pindarique Essay*. Spleen, Lady Winchelsea laments, is everywhere. It lies ever in wait for the unwary. She herself falls a victim :

I feel thy force, while I against thee rail,
I feel my verse decay, and my cramp numbers fail.
Through thy black jaundice I all objects see,
As dark and terrible as thee.

Spleen, we are told in these verses, is "patron to every gross abuse." The ill-tempered husband, the drunkard, the flirt, excuse themselves by the help of spleen ; and by the disease even "religion is veiled in darkness" and troubled by doubts.

Pope, revising the *Rape of the Lock*, took advantage of the opportunity to satirise the fashionable complaint, and inserted his famous description of the Cave of Spleen.

Umbriel, a dusky, melancholy sprite,
As ever sully'd the fair face of light,
Down to the central earth, his proper scene,
Repair'd to search the gloomy Cave of Spleen.
Swift on his sooty pinions flits the Gnome,
And in a vapour reach'd the dismal dome.
No cheerful breeze this sullen region knows,
The dreaded East is all the wind that blows.
Here in a grotto, shelter'd close from air,
And screen'd in shades from day's detested glare,
She sighs for ever on her pensive bed,
Pain at her side, and Megrim at her head.

So Belinda, ravished of her lock, falls a victim to spleen. Pope knew as much of the spleen as any one in the eighteenth century, and his description, though too well known to quote here, is, despite its delicate and delightful irony, a piece of true self-expression. Nevertheless, the poet whose name became inextricably associated with the spleen was a man of eccentric but happy disposition, one Matthew Green, poetaster and customs officer, whose poem, *The Spleen*, was so famous in its day and long afterwards, that the writer became affectionately known as "Spleen Green." In an earlier poem, *The Grotto* (1733), Green had given an excellent description of *Delia* in a fit of the malady, and had also prayed to be preserved from

That self-haunting spectre Spleen,
In thickest fog the clearest seen.

His advice to *Delia* raises a picture of the disease closely akin to Goldsmith's :

Love not so much the doleful knell,
And news the boding night-birds tell ;
Nor watch the wainscot's hollow blow,
And hens portentous when they crow ;
Nor sleepless mind the death-watch beat ;
In taper find no winding-sheet
Nor in burnt coal a coffin see,
Tho' thrown at others, meant for thee ;
Or when the coruscation gleams,
Find not out first the bloody streams ;
Nor in imprest remembrance keep
Grim tapestry figures wrought in sleep ;
Nor rise to see in antique hall
The moonlight monsters on the wall,
And shadowy spectres darkly pass
Trailing their sables o'er the grass.

Green's poem *The Spleen*, begun as a few verses sent in a letter to a splenetic friend, was later elaborated and increased until the whole became a poem of considerable length. There is nothing gloomy in this poem, for Green definitely set out not to describe the malady but his method of prevention.

First know, my friend, I do not mean
To write a treatise on the spleen ;
Nor to prescribe when nerves convulse ;
Nor mend th' alarm watch, your pulse.
If I am right, your question lay,
What course I take to drive away
The day-mare Spleen, by whose false pleas
Men prove mere suicides in ease ;
And how I do myself demean
In stormy world to live serene.

So the whole poem resolves itself into a whimsical and good-natured exposition of the general attitude of the Eighteenth Century to life. It is a statement of that cautious, cynical philosophy then popular, which aimed at happiness through the repression of emotion, through a negative attitude to life. Reason points out this road, says Green, and the man who, without extravagant desires or feelings, treads the road with reason for his guide, can escape the spleen.

Green's delightful poem, which was first published in 1737, after the poet's death, won great and immediate popularity. Dr. Johnson, it is true, said "it is not poetry," but on one occasion at least he quotes from it in a letter to Boswell.

Norton Nicholls, in his reminiscences of Gray, remarks that *The Spleen* "was a great favourite with him for its wit and originality," while Horace Walpole quoted parts of it in a letter to George Montagu. A correspondent in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of March 1780 writes: "Mr. Pope, on reading this excellent poem, *The Spleen*, said 'there was a great deal of originality in it.'"

Many others in the Eighteenth Century sang of the malady, but their work is now forgotten. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote *A Receipt to Cure the Vapours*; Richard Graves, in verses entitled *Panacea or the Grand Restorative*, prescribed fasting as a certain cure. In 1752 there appeared *The Plagues of the Spleen: An Heroic Poem. With an Appendix entitled "The Humourist"; or "The Absent Man."* By the inimitable author of *Telemachus*. The poem was not, as it indirectly claimed to be, by Fénelon. It is often coarse and unpleasant, and has no literary value. It does however show that one reason for the century's hatred of spleen was, that spleen destroyed that perfect mental balance, free from extremes of joy or sorrow, which the wisdom of the age ever strove to attain. As the poet writes:

But of all plagues the greatest is untold,
The vapoured wretch too sanguine or too cold ;
One hour all spirits and excessive gay,
The next all drooping, like a cloudy day.
Such are th' extremes of the tormenting spleen,
Its patients never know the golden mean.

Similarly, in *Humphrey Clinker* spleen is associated with the ecstasies and visions of the Methodist Movement.

In time the spleen gradually lost its hold upon public attention, though everywhere we discover traces of its influence. Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, in 1741, wandering by moonlight on the seashore,

writes extempore verses to her friend "Eudocia" in which she laments that

Every joy that Friendship gives
Shall fade beneath the gloom of spleen,

while the Annual Register of 1769 contains anonymous verses on the malady.

As the century nears its close, spleen as reflected in the literature of the time changes its character in some ways, but the causeless melancholy remains. It is present in the letters and poems of Cowper as in those of Gray. "Dejection of spirits, which I suppose may have prevented many a man from becoming an author, made me one," said Cowper; and in youthful verses he tells us that his rhyming is

To divert a fierce banditti
(Sworn foes to everything that's witty)
That with a black infernal train
Make cruel inroads on my brain,
And daily threaten to drive thence
My little garrison of sense :
The fierce banditti which I mean
Are gloomy thoughts led on by spleen.

It is not difficult to trace this morbid streak, this dark river of spleen running through the Eighteenth Century with its "Night-thoughts" and "churchyard" poets, its "moping-mad" singers and writers, Swift, Collins, Cowper, Chatterton, Smart, Clare, down to the romantic sea of "Weltschmerz." For even when we come to the poets of the so-called "Romantic Revolt" we find lingering effects of "The Malady of the Eighteenth Century." Usually, however, it changes its title in this later period. A century earlier, Coleridge's *Dejection, an Ode* would have been named *An Ode to Spleen*; so would Keats's *Ode on Melancholy*. Shelley, too, in his *Lines written among the Euganean Hills* and *Stanzas written in Dejection*, would have been called a splenetic by the previous age. In Wordsworth we find much that is of the preceding period. He frequently alludes to spleen, and has left us a most interesting account of himself as a victim when an undergraduate at Cambridge.

And not to leave the story of that time
Imperfect, with these habits must be joined
Moods melancholy, fits of spleen, that loved
A pensive sky, sad days, and piping winds,
The twilight more than dawn, autumn than spring ;
A treasured and luxurious gloom of choice
And inclination mainly, and the mere
Redundancy of youth's contentedness.

Spleen at the boundary of the centuries is clearly merging into the romantic love of the sombre and mournful, is becoming "poetic." It has changed much in quality since those distant days of the seventeenth century, when it was regarded as a physical evil, the bad temper induced by colds, fogs, lack of warmth and sun. In the Eighteenth Century it was often the chafing of the spirit against the shackles of an unimaginative, materialistic conception of reason: "That hunger of imagination which preys incessantly upon life," as Johnson called it, the tacit assertion even in denial, of those aspects of life whose existence the reason of that age ignored. In the romantic age that followed, spleen became the positive expression of that same element in thought, the melancholy that sprang from a realisation of the discrepancy between reality and ideal life as pictured by the romantic imagination: "Spleen et Idéal," as Baudelaire entitled a section of *Les Fleurs du Mal*. So spleen changed with the passage of the years from a physical ill to an almost definite aesthetic quality. At the close of the nineteenth century spleen has become a pale, wistful figure whose eyes are dim with tears, whose voice trembles with sensibility, as in Ernest Dowson's poem *Spleen*:

I was not sorrowful, I could not weep,
And all my memories were put to sleep.

I was not sorrowful, but only tired
Of everything that ever I desired.

By that time, across the Channel, in the country of *Le Malade Imaginaire*, "le spleen anglais" had found expression in Baudelaire's two sombrely magnificent poems entitled *Spleen* in *Les Fleurs du Mal*. "J'ai mes nerfs, mes vapeurs," Baudelaire said once, and these poems are also the expression of that fact.

Je suis comme le roi d'un pays pluvieux,
Riche, mais impuissant, jeune et pourtant très-vieux,

he cries in the first of these, and in the other,

De longs corbillards, sans tambours ni musique
Défilent lentement dans mon âme ; l'Espoir
Vaincu, pleure, et l'Angoisse atroce, despotique,
Sur mon crâne incliné, plante son drapeau noir.

It is the French counterpart of Thomson's *City of Dreadful Night*.

But it was Keats who achieved the finest expression of the

English malady in our literature. He often speaks in his letters of falling a victim to the disease. "I have many reasons for going wonder-ways : to make my winter chair free from spleen," he writes in April 1818, before setting out on his northern tour ; and in his next letter, the poet incidentally reveals that he was acquainted with the Eighteenth-century tradition of spleen. "Who would live," he asks, "in a region of mists, . . . when there is such a place as Italy ? It is said this England from its clime produces a spleen, able to engender the finest sentiments, and cover the whole face of the isle with Green—so it ought, I'm sure."

A year later he wrote in his famous ode :

But when the melancholy fit shall fall
Sudden from heaven like a weeping cloud,
That fosters the droop-headed flowers all,
And hides the green hill in an April shroud ;
Then glut thy sorrow on a morning rose,
Or on the rainbow of the salt sand-wave.

Ay, in the very temple of Delight
Veil'd Melancholy has her sov'ran shrine
Though seen of none save him whose strenuous tongue
Can burst Joy's grape against his palate fine ;
His soul shall taste the sadness of her might,
And be among her cloudy trophies hung.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MAID'S METAMORPHOSIS

BY S. R. GOLDING

The Maid's Metamorphosis * was entered on the Stationers' Register July 24, 1600, and was printed in the same year, the title-page stating that it was "sundrie times Acted by the Children of Powles." The internal evidence, with its references to a leap-year (iv. i. 157) and a period of famine (ii. i. 25-7),† indicates a date of composition in the first half of 1600.

Since Collier first expressed doubt as to Lyly's authorship of this play, which seems to have originated with Winstanley, *Lives of the English Poets* (1687), p. 97, the poetical portion, at least, has been generally assigned to another hand. Sir E. Gosse considers that the rimed heroics of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* are suggestive of John Day, and that here we have an early work of that writer. This assignment was supported by Bullen, ‡ whose remarks are subjoined :

The scene at the beginning of Act II, and the gossip of the pages in Acts II and III, are certainly very much in Day's manner. The merciless harrying of the word "kind" at the beginning of Act V reminds one of similar elaborate trifling in *Humour out of Breath*; and the amœbean rhymes in the contention between Gemulo and Silvio (Act I) are, in their sportive quaintness, as like Day's handiwork as they are unlike Lyly's. In reading the pretty echo-scene in Act IV, the reader will recall a similar scene in *Law Tricks* (Act V, Sc. i.). On the other hand, the delightful songs of the fairies (in Act II), if not written by Lyly, were at least suggested by the fairies' song in *Endymion*.

Bond, in his edition of Lyly's works, printed *The Maid's Metamorphosis* as of doubtful authenticity, and, with great reluctance

* The references throughout are to Bond's text in his edition of Lyly's *Works*, vol. iii.

† See Stowe, *Annales*, p. 789, for the description of a bad harvest, April-May, 1600.

‡ Introduction, *Old English Plays*, vol. i. (1882).

acquiesced in the conclusions of Bullen and of Gosse, being of opinion that the chief metrical characteristics and general style were more like Day's than Lyly's. To the latter dramatist he ascribed tentatively II. ii., III. ii., the duet between Gemulo and Silvio in IV. ii. and the closing song in Act v.

I have examined the play in detail, and the results of my investigation have led me to conclude that there is nothing of a very palpable nature which affords any grounds for the belief that the author of the *Ile of Gulls* was associated even in the remotest manner with the writing or the production of *The Maid's Metamorphosis*. The introduction of classical gods and goddesses, the strong mythological-pastoral element, the ebb and flow of the verse with its unmistakable Spenserian modulation, and the repetition of certain mannerisms adumbrated below, all find no counterpart in any of Day's accredited plays. Except for the pun on such a common word as "kind" and the similarity of the Echo scenes in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (Act iv.) and *Law Tricks* (v. i.) respectively, there is little solidity in Bullen's arguments. Moreover, it is almost inconceivable that Day, who was a member of the Admiral's company, should have been called upon to write suddenly for the Children of St. Paul's at the beginning of 1600.

Nor is Fleay on firmer ground, when he assigns the major portion of the play to Daniel and some of the prose scenes to Lyly. This is what he writes :

The Prologue . . . contains one line which is taken from Daniel's first Sonnet—

" Then to the boundless ocean of your worth."

Daniel had, at the death of Spenser, 1599, become the Court poet, and the style of most of the play is just that of his earlier dramatic work. The fondness of rhyme, the introduction of Juno, Iris, and Somnus in II. i. (some of the very words in which are repeated in his *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, 1604), the fall of the metre, and the pastoral plot all point to Daniel as the main author ; but the prose bits, which are clearly insertions by a second hand, the pages Mopso and Frisco, II. ii., III. ii., and especially the Fairies in II. ii., are almost certainly by Lyly.

But, as Bond has shown, the line to which Fleay alludes in Daniel's sonnets reads " Unto the boundless ocean of thy beauty," and there is practically no affinity between our play and Daniel's earliest tragedies, *Cleopatra* and *Philotas*, which are both on the Senecan model and are written in verse the basis of which is rather the heroic

quatrain than the couplet. When one examines, too, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, in the hope of detecting the resemblances to which Fleay refers, one discovers nothing very arresting which would lead one to justify his assumption that Daniel was the main author of *The Maid's Metamorphosis*. One can only agree with Greg * that, so far, there is very little weight in any of the suggestions put forward as to the authorship of the play.

Contending, therefore, that *The Maid's Metamorphosis* is neither the work of Daniel nor of Day, I intend to show that the chief poetic scenes were founded on the plays of Peele—*The Arraignment of Paris*, *Edward I.*, *The Battle of Alcazar*, *The Old Wives' Tale*, and *David and Bethsabe*—and the prose scenes on those of Lyly.

No one can read *The Maid's Metamorphosis* without detecting echoes of *The Arraignment of Paris*, with its pastoral atmosphere of Ida hills and Ida vales, with classical deities descending amidst mortals on Ida plains, with rude shepherd swains piping their merry carols upon oaten reeds, with its Spenserian imitations and Spenserian cadences, and, finally, with its looseness of construction and poverty of characterisation which sometimes marred the best compositions of the writer of *The Old Wives' Tale*. Even in tricks of style and particular mannerisms, one is constantly reminded of Peele's earlier work, and in an endeavour to demonstrate how far the author of *The Metamorphosis* was indebted to him, I shall rely solely upon the plays mentioned above, remembering also that one lacks the assistance of another of Peele's pastorals, *The Hunting of Cupid*, which was entered on the Stationers' Register July 26, 1591, but which unfortunately has been lost.

With the exception of the prose passages and songs, and of thirty-four unrimed lines scattered indiscriminately throughout the text, *The Maid's Metamorphosis* is written wholly in rimed iambic pentameters. This is what might be expected from an imitator of *The Arraignment*, consisting as the latter play does mainly of riming decasyllabic couplets with a sprinkling of rimed fourteeners. In both plays, too, the same riming syllables are often found at the end of four successive lines (nine examples in *The Metamorphosis*),† and there are also instances (five in *The Metamorphosis*) ‡ where a riming syllable is only extended to a third line.

• *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 339 (footnote).

† Pp. 348, 349, 361, 363, 365 (twice), 370, 378, 380.

‡ Pp. 371, 374, 377, 378, 381.

Bond noted the four following as the chief metrical characteristics of *The Metamorphosis*, all of which he considered were paralleled in Day's work :

(i) Carelessness in the rimes. No examples are given either from *The Metamorphosis* or from Day's plays. Those, however, that I have observed in the first scene are : " age, marriage " (ll. 41-2), " unjust, odious " (ll. 173-4), " hospitalitie, safetie " (ll. 296-7), " time, minde " (ll. 336-7), " west, fist " (ll. 346-7).

Peele's rimes also are not always precise. Compare from *The Arraignment* : " idleness, wantonness " (I. ii. 29-30), " general, special " (II. i. 72-3), " chivalry, victory " (II. i. 152-3).

(ii) An unrimed line in the middle of a rimed passage. There are only thirty-four such cases in the whole of the fourteen hundred lines of poetry of *The Metamorphosis*, i.e. about 2·4 per cent. These omissions may be due to a revising hand ; but the leaving of a line unrimed in the midst of a number of rimed lines is so frequent in Elizabethan writers that one may discard this feature altogether as a specific test of the authenticity of a particular play.

(iii) A tendency to twelve syllables in the line, especially when it is divided between two characters. Bond cites six examples : III. i. 76, 79, 83, 131 ; IV. ii. 91 ; V. i. 42.

Lines with twelve syllables are not uncommon in Peele's work. See *The Arraignment*, II. i. 129, III. i. 130, III. ii. 1 ; *Edward I.*, Sc. vi. 74, 91, 111 ; Sc. x. 249-256.

(iv) Confusion in the use of double rimes.* Bond refers to " companie, solitarie " (III. i. 21-2), " deitie, curtesie " (III. i. 178-9), and inappropriately compares " pirate, hate " (*Parliament of Bees*, p. 49).

One need not proceed very far in Peele to find similar examples. Here are some from *The Arraignment* : " royal, withal " (I. i. 105-6), " solitary, melancholy " (II. i. 102-3), " riches, monarchies " (II. i. 128-9), " brings, tidings " (III. ii. 85-6), " senate, fate " (IV. i. 197-8).

The writer of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* often begins a succession of lines with the same word (e.g. I. i. 344-6 ; III. i. 144-6, 158-161, 168-170, etc.).

Peele does this so frequently that I refrain from giving actual examples.

The author also has the trick of prefacing a speech with " Trust

* I fail to see the double rime in IV. ii. 65-6.

me" (I. i. 15, 251, 287), and " Believe me " (I. i. 7, III. i. 37, v. i. 145).

" Trust me " occurs five times, and " Believe me " six times in *The Arraignment*.

Also noteworthy is the predilection of the writer for such simple adjectives as " sacred " and " silly " :—

" Sacred " :— " Ye sacred Fyres " (I. i. 131), " sacred Deitie " (iv. ii. 69), " You sacred sisters " (v. ii. 33), " You sacred Muses " (v. ii. 70), " Most sacred Phœbus " (v. ii. 85).

" Silly " :— " silly Lovers " (I. i. 67), " silly damsels " (I. i. 75), " silly mayd " (III. ii. 188), " silly Lady " (v. ii. 64), " silly helpe " (v. ii. 92).

There are fourteen examples of " sacred " in *The Arraignment*, five in *Edward I.*, and six in *David and Betsabe*. " Silly " is found four times in *The Arraignment*.

The phraseology and characterisation of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* also remind one constantly of Peele's acknowledged plays :—

Eurymine is the first speaker in the play, and begins thus :

Phylander, and Orestes, what conceyt
Troubles your silent mindes ? Let me intreat
Since we are come thus farre, as we do walke
You would devise some prettie pleasant talke :

Phylander pleads his lack of skill in discourse, whereupon Eurymine turns to Orestes :

Why then Orestes let me crave of you
Some olde, or late done story to renew :

A similar request for a story is made by Paris to Oenone in *The Arraignment*, I. ii. 1-4 :

Oenone, while we bin disposed to walk
Tell me what shall be the subject of our talk ?
Thou hast a sort of pretty tales in store,
Dare say no nymph in Ida woods hath more :

Oenone then enumerates a number of classical stories with which she is acquainted, and concludes (ll. 45-6) :

All these are old and known I know, yet, if thou wilt have any,
Choose some of these, for, trust me, else Oenone hath not many.

Compare also *Edward I.*, Sc. vi. 49-52 :

I'll tell thee, girl, when I was fair and young,
I found such honey in sweet Edward's tongue,
As I could never spend one idle walk
But Ned and I would piece it out with talk.

Compare the following :

<i>Then I alas, poore I am only she :</i>	1. i. 234.
<i>Then had not I, poor I, bin unhappy.</i>	<i>Arraignment</i> , III. i. 121.
<i>And when the sun steales downward to the west.</i>	1. i. 346.
<i>And when the sun doth settle in the west.</i>	<i>O. W. T.</i> , line 196.
<i>Shalbe as fresh, as is the moneth of May.</i>	1. i. 357.
<i>As fresh as Meadow in a morne of May.</i>	IV. ii. 9.
<i>As fresh as bin the flowers in May.</i>	<i>Arraignment</i> , I. ii. 64.

Gemulo and Silvio vie with each other in depicting the attractiveness of their respective dwellings and vocations. Eurymine thanks both for their offer of shelter (1. i. 376-381) :

But more, *to end* this sudden controversie,
Since I am made an umpier in the plea,
This is my verdite : Ile intreate of you
A Cottage for my dwelling : and of you,
A flocke to tend : and so *indifferent*
My gratefull paines on either shalbe spent.

In *The Arraignment*, Diana is made the final judge in the conflict between the three goddesses as to the ownership of the golden ball (v. i. 1-6) :

Lo, ladies, far beyond my hope and will, you see,
This thankless office is imposed to me ;
Wherein if you will rest as well content,
As Dian will be judge *indifferent*,
My egal doom shall none of you offend,
And of this quarrel make a final *end* :

“ Mighty Juno ” and “ Jove’s wife ” :—

<i>Juno.</i> Come hither Iris.	
<i>Iris.</i> Iris is at hand,	
	To attend <i>Joves wife</i> : great Junos hie command.
<i>Juno.</i> Iris I know I do thy service prove,	
	And ever since I was the <i>wife of Jove</i>

From *mighty Juno, Joves immortal wife*. II. i. 168.

Compare :—

That well the <i>mighty Juno</i> , and the rest.	<i>The Arraignment</i> , I. i. 67.
And bravely, as becomes the <i>wife of Jove</i> .	<i>Ibid.</i> , I. i. 113.
<i>Juno the wife</i> and sister of King <i>Jove</i> .	<i>Ibid.</i> , I. i. 124.
<i>Juno, the wife</i> and sister of King <i>Jove</i> .	<i>Ibid.</i> , I. i. 165.
To be the <i>wife of Jove</i> and queen of heaven.	<i>Ibid.</i> , II. i. 57.

Juno says concerning Venus (II. i. 99-100) :

Now the proud huswife will contend with me :
And practiseth her *wanton branches* to play
With this Ascanio, and Euryamine.

Compare Thenot's remarks, when he hears that Colin has gone to Venus to make complaint of her son (*The Arraignment*, III. i. 33-4) :

Ah, Colin, thou art all deceived ! she dallies with the boy,
And winks at all his *wanton pranks*, and thinks thy love a toy.

The scene (III. i.), where Apollo appears to Euryamine, must have been suggested by that in *The Arraignment* (III. i.), where Mercury descends on Ida and encounters Oenone. Moreover, the episode in *The Metamorphosis* is preceded by a song, which, with its mention of "Ida," "Paris," "Pallas," "Iuno," and "Venus," is strongly reminiscent of the plot of *The Arraignment*.

Both Euryamine and Oenone are impatient :

<i>Ap.</i>	Nay stay sweet Nymph with mee.	III. i. 136.
<i>Ap.</i>	O stay sweet Nymph, with more advisement view,	...
		III. i. 156.

Compare *The Arraignment*, III. i. 106 :

Mer. Stay, nymph, and hark to what I say of him thou blamest so.

Note in both scenes the amoebæan rimes ; *I thanke ye Sir* (*Met.*, III. i. 136), *I thank you, sir* (*Arraignment*, III. i. 88) ; *I will, by Iove my father* (*Met.*, III. i. 196), and *before my father Jove* (*Arraignment*, III. i. 111).

Now for the Echo scene (IV. i.), which Bullen asserts is recalled by Day's *Law Tricks* (v. i.). I quote some lines from *The Metamorphosis* :

<i>Asca.</i>	Some Satyre then, or Goddesse of this place, Some water Nymph, vouchsafe me so much grace As by some view, some signe, or other sho, I may have knowledge if she live or no.
<i>Echo.</i>	No.
<i>Asca.</i>	Then my poor hart is buried too in wo : Record it once more, if the truth be so ?
<i>Echo.</i>	So.
<i>Asca.</i>	How, that Eurymine is dead, or lives ?
<i>Echo.</i>	Lives.
<i>Asca.</i>	Now gentle Goddesse thou redeem'st my soule From death to life : Oh tell me quickly where ?
<i>Echo.</i>	Where.
<i>Asca.</i>	In some remote far region, or else neere ?
<i>Echo.</i>	Neere.
	etc.

With the above, compare *The Old Wives' Tale*, ll. 414-424. The two brothers catch a fleeting glimpse of their sister, Delia, but she vanishes :

Sec. Bro. Sister, where art thou ? Delia, come again !
 He calls, that of thy absence doth complain.
 Call out, Calypha, that she may hear,
 And cry aloud, for Delia is near.
Echo. Near.
First Bro. Near ! O, where ? hast thou any tidings ?
Echo. Tidings.
Sec. Bro. Which way is Delia, then ? or that, or this ?
Echo. This.
First Bro. And may we safely come where Delia is ?
Echo. Yes.
 etc.

No one can read these two extracts—both of which are introduced into their respective plays in the search for a lost lady—without being struck by their undoubted similarity.

The character of Aramanthus is modelled on that of Erestus in *The Old Wives' Tale*. Both act in an advisory capacity, Aramanthus to Ascanio, and Erestus to Delia's two brothers.

Ascanio and Joculo accost Aramanthus (iv. i. 57-9) :

Asca. God speed faire Sir.
Io. My Lord doo ye not marke ?
 How the skie thickens, and begins to darke ?
Asca. Health to ye Sir. Nay then God be our speed.
Io.

Compare the manner in which the First Brother greets Erestus (*O.W.T.*, ll. 146-7) :

Now, father, *God be your speed!* what do you gather there ?

Both have been ill-favoured by Fortune (*Met.*, iv. i. 67-82) :

Asca. Tell me I pray ye sir, may I be bold to crave
 The cause of your abode within this cave ?
Ara. To tell that in this extreme distress,
 Were but a *tale* of Fortune's fickleness.
Asca. Forward I pray ye, faint not in your *tale*.
Ara. Yet would my tragicke story fit the stage,
 Pleasant in youth, but wretched in my age,
Blinde Fortune setting up and pulling downe,
 Abusde by those my selfe raisde to renowne :

Compare *O.W.T.*, ll. 182-7 :

Now sit thee here, and tell a *heavy tale*,
 Sad in thy mood, and sober in thy cheer :
 The hard mishap of thy most wretched state.
 In Thessaly I lived in sweet content,
 Until that *fortune wrought my overthrow* ;

Both, too, speak in riddles :

If ye be good at Rimes and *Riddles* old man, expound me this.
Met., III. ii. 87.

And all the day I sit, as now you see,
And speak in *riddles*, all inspired with rage.

O. W. T., ll. 198-9.

Bond maintains that "record" = "sing" is characteristic of Lyly.* He refers to the Echo scene (IV. i. 12-13) :

Then my poore hart is buried too in wo :
Record it once more, if the truth be so ?

and to IV. ii. 42 :

Where *Nightingales record* upon the thorne.

He compares *The Woman in the Moone*, III. i. 79, and *Euphues*, vol. ii. p. 58, l. 7.

But Peele also uses "record" in the same sense (*O. W. T.*, ll. 628-9) :

Come, Berecynthia, let us in likewise,
And hear the *nightingale record* her notes.

Phœbus to the Muses (*Met.*, v. ii. 163-4) :

Then Ladies *gratulate this happy chaunce*,
With some delightfull tune and pleasaunt daunce.

Compare *The Arraignment*, I. i. 146-7 :

Muses. The Muses give you melody to *gratulate this chance*.
And Phœbe, chief of sylvan chace, commands you all to *dance*

The first line of the Song (*Met.*, v. ii. 169) :

Since *painfull sorrowes date* hath end.

Compare *The Arraignment*, Prologue, l. 3 :

Where bloodless ghosts in *pains of endless date*.

Two alternatives at once present themselves : either *The Maid's Metamorphosis* was originally written by Peele himself, or by a student of his versification, mannerisms and characterisation. If Peele's authorship could be definitely disproved one would look for a date of composition after 1595, when *The Old Wives' Tale*, to which there are so many resemblances in our play, was printed. What makes the problem still more complicated is that *The Maid's Metamorphosis*,

* Intro., vol. iii. p. 335.

like *The Arraignment*, postulates a writer with a knowledge of Spenser; and if the play is by an imitator of Peele, we are led to the assumption that he, recognising his master's indebtedness, followed him to his source. What is of particular interest is that v. i. 104-117, with its description of the Graces sitting by the crystal stream, has been suggested by the *Faerie Queene*, VI. x. 7. *The Maid's Metamorphosis* could not, therefore, have been written prior to 1596 (when the *Faerie Queene*, Bks. IV.-VI., was published)—a date of composition which makes Peele's authorship highly improbable, as the play, in spite of several passages of lyrical beauty, does not possess sufficient poetic merit to be regarded as emanating from this *primus verborum artifex*, at least twelve years after *The Arraignment*.

We are faced with exactly the same problem, when we turn to the two prose scenes, II. ii., III. ii., which Fleay emphatically declares are "almost certainly by Lyly." Bond, who admits possibility of Lyly's *late* authorship of these scenes, enumerates several points in the play which can be paralleled in Lyly's dramatic work; but confesses that, though typical of Lyly, they may well denote a younger playwright familiar with his plays. The same critic also gives a list of eight details which he thinks are suggestive of Lyly; but of these, four refer to I. i., one to II. i., one to IV. i., and one to V. i.—scenes which Bond himself considers contain none of Lyly's characteristics. What remain—two puns by Joculo:—"A Kitchen god, Pan," III. ii. 28 (cf. *Midas*, IV. i. 61, "all Pan and tinkerly"), and "Ile give him all the poyncts at my hose, to poynct me right to my master," III. ii. 70-1 (cf. *Gallathea*, I. iv. 40-2, "Nay, I would faine have his thirty-two, that is, his three dozen lacking foure points; for you see betwixt us three there is not two good points," and *Ibid.*, II. iii. 42)—may well have been plagiarised by a youthful disciple. And though, too, there is a slight affinity between the dialogue of the three servants (Joculo, Mopso and Frisco) and the fun of the pages in Lyly's comedies, one would require substantial evidence of a more corroborative nature to reject the theory of juvenile imitation.

It would be pleasing to think that in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* we have an early pastoral by Peele, revised with the addition of the prose scenes by Lyly in 1600. Nevertheless, I feel that the whole play is indicative throughout of a poet and playwright, who took as his models the popular masterpieces of Spenser, Lyly and Peele.

THE PUBLISHED BUT UNACTED "HEROIC PLAYS" OF ROGER BOYLE, EARL OF ORRERY

BY WILLIAM S. CLARK

THE renewed discussion of late concerning the Earl of Orrery's pioneer work in the field of the "heroic play" may lead some students of the Restoration Drama to take a new interest in the dramatic productions of this historically important personage. If they open the second volume of the collected edition (1739) of his works, they will note that the first play therein is a tragedy in heroic verse, entitled *Herod the Great*. This play, although never acted, is as finished a stage piece, with prologue and epilogue, as Orrery ever composed. From the point of view of dramatic structure and interest it is perhaps finer than any of his more famous, acted compositions. Of its history, however, nothing has ever been known, except that it first appeared in printed form in 1694. Yet in the mind of any reader of *Herod the Great* the question must arise at once, why a piece, so suitable for the theatre of its day, by so famous a poet as was Orrery at the time, should not have been acted. To that question I think the true answer finally can be given, at least in part, through my discovery of a hitherto unknown letter among a collection of old letters and papers formerly belonging to the Orrery family, but now in the Harvard University Library. The letter* is addressed to the Earl of Orrery by an unsigned hand, and dated Dublin, February 17, 1671/2. The passage of interest reads as follows :

I hope ye accident of burning ye Kings Theater will not be an occasion of your Lordships concealing Mariamne † from your servannts. It would be unjust in your Lordship, and to her Memory, to add to our misfortunes,

* See H.C.L. MS. Eng. 218, 22 f.

† Queen Mariamne, wife of King Herod, is the heroine of *Herod the Great*.

and make them feel a punishment who have been guilty of no offence ; but whatever your Lordships intentions are as to y^e publishing that work, I presume your Lordship will not deny me y^e favour of seeing it.

If your Lordship will be pleased to send it to me by ye post I will engage not to give a copy of it unto any, and that I will return it againe unto your Lordship whensoever you shall command it.

This letter makes it clear that at the time of the burning of the Theatre Royal in Bridges Street on January 25, 1671/2, Orrery had finished his play of *Herod the Great*, and had expected that it would be produced on the stage at that theatre. While of course the inference cannot be accepted as an actual fact, it seems very probable from the implications of the letter that Killigrew already had the manuscript of Orrery's *Herod the Great* in hand and was shortly to have had the piece acted at the King's theatre, when the fire destroyed that structure. In any case, the burning of the theatre put a temporary end to any production of the play by the King's company. Then about this time a London wit, Samuel Pordage, who may have seen or heard of Orrery's composition, took it into his head to write a tragedy in rimed verse on the same general theme. Through the influence and help of Elkanah Settle * his *Herod and Mariamne* was produced at Dorset Gardens in October 1673.† The production of this play, so similar in subject and style to that of Orrery, rendered it impossible that the rival King's company, when finally in their new theatre in March 1674, could profitably stage *Herod the Great*. Thus its stage appearance was permanently prevented by a most unfortunate chain of circumstances. Orrery naturally saw little advantage in the publication of an unacted piece, and hence took no steps in that direction.

There is another published but unacted play, which I think that Orrery unquestionably wrote in his last years, yet the authorship of which has not been ascribed to him. Late in 1677 or early in 1678, Orrery turned very markedly toward religious meditation, in the face of a not far-distant death, and his literary concerns became centred on sacred subjects.‡ In this mood I believe he composed a rimed verse tragedy on the Biblical story of David and Saul, which he left still in a rough, unfinished state upon his death. After some later revisions and additions to lighten the didactic and deeply moral

* See Preface to *Herod and Mariamne* (1673).

† See Nicoll's *A Hist. of Rest. Drama*, p. 310.

‡ See Preface to *Poems on Most of the Festivals of the Church*.

quality, which it was hoped without avail would make the play suitable for stage production,* it was finally published in 1703 under the title, *The Tragedy of King Saul*, and a second edition appeared in 1739. The title-page of both editions states that the play was written by a "Deceas'd Person of Honour."

Horace Walpole in 1758, suggested that this piece was written by the Earl of Orrery.† However, the *Biographia Dramatica* states that "this play in the 12mo edition (1739) is ascribed to Dr. Trapp."‡ On that authority, I suppose, Professor Nicoll lists the author of *King Saul* as Dr. Joseph Trapp.§ But the statement in the *Biographia Dramatica* is a gross error, for there is no mention whatsoever of Dr. Trapp's name in the 1739 edition. In view of the title-page wording, the supposition of his authorship is ridiculous.

The *Epistle Dedicatory*, which is found only in the edition of 1703, is addressed to the "Right Honorable the Countess of Burlington, etc.," because "you are said to be related to the Noble Person, who is supposed to be the Author of it." This Countess of Burlington seems none other than the wife of Charles Boyle, second Earl of Burlington, whose grandfather was Richard Boyle, the first Earl, and the elder brother of Roger Boyle, the first Earl of Orrery.|| The Countess might very rightly therefore be considered as related to that first Earl of Orrery, Roger Boyle.

The publisher in his *Preface* makes such reference to the fame and nobility of the author as the following : ¶

That the Great Person that wrote this Excellent Tragedy stands in need of no other Pen than his own, to defend Him or His inimitable Composures. . . .

. . . . every one that knows a Deceas'd Man of Qualitie's way of writing must guess at the Gentleman that obliges the World with this. . . .

The above comments certainly fit perfectly the character of Orrery, who would of course be mentioned in that day as a deceased nobleman, and whose work as a dramatic poet of high reputation was well known to the literary world at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

* See *Preface to The Tragedy of King Saul*.

† *Letters of Walpole* (Cunningham edit.), vol. iii. p. 187.

‡ *Ibid.* (edit. 1812), vol. iii. p. 241.

§ *Hist. of XVIIIth Cent. Drama* (1700-1750), p. 361.

|| *Burke's Extinct Peerage*, p. 77.

¶ 1703 edit., p. 14.

The internal evidence of the play also bears out the certainty that Orrery was the author. At the end of Act 1, where Jonathan and David pledge their friendship to each other, the scene with its expressions of the supreme tie which binds their hearts and with the mutual embraces is exactly similar to the like scene* in Orrery's *Mustapha* between Mustapha and Zanger. Moreover, the echoing of his earlier work can be found in the expression of sentiment as well as in the scene. In Act 1,† Adriel, jealous that David will receive as a reward for his valour, Saul's daughter, Merab, whom Adriel himself loves, says :

Let him the Merit of His Conquest boast,
I will deserve her best by loving most.

These lines can be very closely paralleled in *Mustapha*, where Mustapha and Zanger are debating as to which one shall possess the Queen of Hungary, and Mustapha asserts : ‡

But she must be by Merit's claim possess'd,
And he who loves her most, deserves the best.

These two instances from scene and text are sufficient to indicate in conjunction with the external evidence, already discussed, that the Earl of Orrery composed the *Tragedy of King Saul* as his last dramatic effort. For that reason and not for its worth as a play, of which it is one of the poorest in the dramatic miscellany of the time, it should take on added interest to students of Orrery's dramatic activity.

* *Dram. Works*, vol. i. p. 376-377.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 422.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

THE GROWTH OF THE READING PUBLIC DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY A. S. COLLINS

I

THE reading public of Addison's time was very small, closely limited both geographically and socially. It was confined to London, and mostly to fashionable London, since communication between the metropolis and the provinces was very imperfect, and there still lingered that division between society and city which had very sharply separated the puritanical citizens from the gay court of the merry monarch. There was no demand for literature from the "gross, uneducated, untravelled country gentleman," and the country clergyman's books were limited to the few dusty and long-untouched volumes which he had brought from college and still respected, though past reading them. There was little intellectual life outside London, and there was not much within. Indeed, what was there to stimulate the mind, to encourage reading? The mental pabulum offered to the public was for the most part either indigestible or of a flavour unenticingly rank. Wholesome light reading was in 1708 still to come; some form of literature with a broad and healthy appeal had yet to be discovered. Steele discovered it, and Addison was at hand to perfect it. A new tide in the affairs of literature had turned, and the first slow creep was evident of a mighty sea of progress. Said Mrs. Shirley, in *Sir Charles Grandison*, "The reading in fashion when I was young was Romances. You, my children, have in that respect fallen into happier days. The present age is greatly obliged to the authors of the *Spectator*."^{*} The romances, certainly, might well go; far more the virulent pamphlets, abusive and scurrilous, the indecent verses, the salacious tales, and spiced biographies. They always survive for the unclean reader; at the

* *Sir Charles Grandison*, 1754, vi. 204.

close of the seventeenth century, it was largely a matter of read such, or read nothing.*

The *Tatler* began, but the *Spectator* was the best expression of, the periodical essay. It was a completely new departure, infinitely removed from all the gossiping and short-lived news-sheets that had been the only previous periodical literature. Addison rejoices that "my paper has not in it a single word of news, a reflection on politics, nor a stroke of party"; that he gives "no fashionable touches of infidelity, no obscene ideas, no satires upon priesthood, marriage, and the like popular topics of ridicule; no private scandal, nor anything that may tend to the defamation of particular persons, families or societies." "There is," says Addison, "not one of these above-mentioned subjects that would not sell a very indifferent paper, could I think of gratifying the public by such mean and base methods"; but that he will not do, preferring to write something that "draws men's minds off from the bitterness of party, and furnishes them with subjects of discourse that may be treated without warmth or passion." He is ambitious to have it said of him that he "brought philosophy out of closets, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables, and in coffee-houses." In short, the aim of the *Spectator* was to interest the public without pandering to its weakness, to instruct in taste and morality, "to unite merriment with decency," and to popularise knowledge. The "morning lectures" were to be so brief, so varied and so leavened with humour, that "the busy may find time, and the idle may find patience" to attend.

The venture had an immediate success. The *Tatler* ran to 271 numbers, covering a period of some twenty months, and the more frequent *Spectator* to 555 in about the same time. Of their circulation we cannot be certain, but it was undoubtedly considerable, and the doings of Sir Roger and his friends were the topic of the town. By the time the *Spectator* had reached its tenth number, we find Addison writing: "My publisher tells me, that there are already three thousand of them distributed every day; so that if I allow twenty readers to every paper which I look upon as a modest computation, I may reckon about three-score thousand disciples in London and Westminster." † Johnson, reckoning from the stamp-tax

* Beljame, *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre au 18^e Siècle*, chapitre iii.

† *Spectator*, No. 10.

figures, estimated the sale at nearly seventeen hundred ; tradition, on the other hand, tells of twenty thousand copies being sold on occasion.* In any case, its influence overflowed the bounds of its sale, for the coffee-house copies were well-thumbed,† and to be the common theme of conversation is of more value than mere sale. Moreover, these periodicals were unlike the majority of that generally ephemeral race, because their popularity grew instead of decreasing. They were quickly gathered into volumes, and constantly reprinted. Not until the new spirit which they preached had permeated literature and society, did their popularity wane before the recurring demand for new things.

Twenty months may seem a short life, but they sufficed. It was the change itself that mattered, and a few months ensured it. Once there had been the awakening to fresh ideas, the discovery of the pleasure of instructive, yet easy reading, the call to higher morality, to more humane feeling and gentler manners, to wider literary appreciation and deeper reflection, life could no longer be as before. We needs must love the highest when we see it, and the light of Addison was a clear beacon to his age. There was no need for a *Spectator* dragging on for years, when its work was done, and it is less matter for wonder that Sir Roger was carried off by gaol-fever, than his long continuance would have been. The *Guardian* succeeded the *Spectator*, and was followed by a brief revival of it ; then the *Freeholder* in 1715 brought to an end Addison's periodical essays, closing on a definite party note. The new spirit was making its way, moulding the generation to come, preparing a reading public ready for the next impulse. But, meantime, the actual growth of the reading public suffered a check. It had been a great achievement for Addison to hold attention so long while keeping aloof from politics and personality. There was bound to be some reaction to the old ways. Conditions were first unsettled by the Jacobite rebellion, then came the bitter Bangorian controversy submerging divinity in politics, and on top of that the South Sea Bubble.

For a time the more general habit of reading was satisfied by very indifferent newspapers, whose contents were lies, scandal, libel and

* Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. G. B. Hill (Addison), ii. 98.

† In 1729 the owners of coffee-houses asserted that by their means one issue of a paper passed through no less than 20,000 hands in a day. See *The Case between the proprietors of newspapers and the subscribing Coffee men*, 1729, B.M. 1093, d. 61.

gossip. Despite the stamp duty imposed in 1712, they had survived and were on the increase, indicating a steady public demand. A certain Samuel Negus has, in this connection, left us a document of great interest, being a list of printers in London and the counties, compiled as an offering to Lord Townshend, Secretary of State in 1724. Negus was an old printer, envious of interloping newsprinters, and moreover he had an eye on the office of Extraordinary Messenger, wherein he "should not doubt of pleasing his Lordship." From his list and petition it would appear that printing presses were spreading everywhere, and men outside the trade were being tempted to try their hand by the public appetite for news and pamphlets. Most of the bigger provincial towns had their Press, and some had two; London had no less than seventy, many of whom, says the informer, "give great offence and disturbance to the State." Doubtlessly they did, but from the standpoint of the literary calling it was better that the public should grow by reading seditious matter than fail to grow for want of nourishment. The newspapers were better than nothing, and in 1724 numbered three daily, seven published three times a week (of which two were *Evening Posts*) and six weekly journals.* In 1729 the owners of coffee-houses complained that newspapers were too numerous for them to take in all, and suggested running a composite one of their own, forgetting that they owed their company as much to the newspapers as to their coffee. But most significant of all is the appearance in 1726 of the *Craftsman*, a forerunner of Junius in its vigorous invective. Its circulation is said to have been between ten and twelve thousand copies a week.

A few examples will show how in the late twenties of the century the sale of the more popular books was expanding. Foremost was *Gulliver's Travels*, of which Arbuthnot foretold its having "as great a run as John Bunyan"; of which the first impression was sold in a week, and which, Swift was told, had soon made a bookseller "almost rich enough to be an alderman."† The success of Gay's *Polly* was so great that two pirates thought it profitable to print illegal editions against the 10,500 issued by Bowyer.‡ Thomson's *Sophonisba* ran through four editions in a year; there were several issues of the first edition of the *Dunciad* in 1728, and a

* Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, i. 288 sqq. and note.

† Swift, *Works*, 1803, xvii. pp. 70, 81, 202.

‡ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, i. 404.

second and more elaborate edition appeared the next year ; Gay's *Fables* attained a fourth edition in 1733, and the *Beggar's Opera* in 1735 ; Garth's *Dispensary* a ninth in 1726, and Watts' *Divine and Moral Songs for Children* a tenth in 1729 ; Young's *Universal Passion* reached a third edition in 1730, and Duck, the Court poet, saw his *Poems* pass through nine editions in three years. The first collected edition of the *Spectator* consisted of nine thousand copies ; in 1729, only seventeen years later, the ninth edition was issued.

Such evidence very clearly indicates the existence of a quite considerable reading public for the more important new and comparatively recent books. It is confirmed by the fact that, while the expenses of publishing had become heavier, owing to a rise in the cost of materials and in the wages of printers, there had been no corresponding increase in the price of books. That remained through the first half of the eighteenth century the same as it had been in the last decade of the seventeenth. Publishers were enabled to keep down prices and yet maintain their profits by the wide extension of circulation everywhere taking place. A big sale of cheap books was the way to foster a public and establish a trade.

The public was beginning to grow, but something else was needed to spread the taste for reading more quickly and more widely. The reader passes from the transitory to the less transitory ; from periodical literature, rooted in the present, to literature whose appeal time has less and less power to diminish. The reading public must be brought up and will always largely continue to subsist on the everyday journey-work of letters ; it needs above all something plain, substantial and wholesome, something better than the year 1730 could show. But by then Edward Cave, a journeyman printer, Commissioner of Franks in the Post Office, and writer of newsletters,* had saved up sufficient money to start a literary venture of whose success he was assured, although he had been unable to persuade any printer or bookseller to join him. He had realised that to become acquainted with the best pieces of periodical writing, such as it was, had become impossible to the average man, and foresaw that a condensation of this overflowing volume of information and opinion would, in all probability, find a ready sale. So in January 1731, there issued from St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, the first number of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, announcing the intention " to treasure

* The handwritten newsletter was still not uncommon in 1730 ; its continued appeal lay in its power of being more outspoken.

up, as in a Magazine, the most remarkable pieces " of writing and news, culled from the two hundred or so half-sheets, thrown each month from the London Press. In addition, there were to be a brief record of events, instructive articles, Parliamentary debates, and an outlet for the poetic muse.

It was not the first attempt ; there had been a monthly *Miscellany* from 1707 to 1709, and a *Bibliotheca Literaria* had emerged in 1722, but neither succeeded ; they did not catch the public taste and possibly they were before their time. Cave's success, however, was immediate, and inspired a host of rivals. The booksellers who before had unanimously rejected his offer of a share, at once combined to produce the *London Magazine*, a formidable but not a more successful competitor. The many others lived and died in constant succession, unable to gain a permanency, but helping the good work of disseminating knowledge in a form easy and pleasant to assimilate, and accessible to those of moderate position and education. There could no longer be any excuse for ignorance of the outlines of domestic and foreign politics ; geographical, historical and literary knowledge was brought to all who could read, and the gift of a little led to the desire for more. The magazines were, in fact, a very powerful educative influence, affecting politics as well by the formation of a broad, national public opinion.

Cave was the man not only to initiate but to advance this new form of literature ; " he scarcely ever looked out of the window but with a view to its improvement." So he saw the circulation of the *Gentleman's Magazine* steadily rise until, in 1739, it was ten thousand, and a few years later fifteen thousand. Nor was its sale limited to the first issue, for its popularity was such that " before it had completed its ninth year, the fifth edition of some of its earliest numbers was printed."* London was not alone in its demand for knowledge, and in 1739 the *Scots Magazine* appeared. It justified itself on the " general increase of readers for some years past," and the want of something which should do away with the necessity of depending on English magazines, of which the sale in Scotland was considerable in spite of their contents being " stale before they come to hand " ; and its quick and firm establishment showed that the plea was valid. Indeed, on all sides there were made " attempts to suit the learning of the times to the purchase and opportunity of persons of every station." Between 1731 and 1780 no less than sixty magazines

* Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, i. 112, note 1.

were published in London, while Scotland had ten and Ireland eleven. The provinces, too, began to have their own periodicals, the first being the *Newcastle General Magazine* from 1747 to 1760. Likewise there grew up the specialised magazine, like the *Farmer's*, and those whose bias was social and homely.*

A later development was the "Review," whose existence showed that a very considerable advance had taken place. It meant that the small section of the reading public which it is convenient to call the literary public, had sufficiently increased to be able to support a magazine devoted to literature and science. The first notable attempt was Robinson's *History of the Works of the Learned*, in which Warburton assailed his enemies and defended Pope against the attacks of the theologian Crousaz. It began in 1737, but continued only a year or two in a limited circle. Not until Griffiths started the *Monthly Review* in 1749, did this class of magazine become well established; then Smollett's *Critical Review* followed in 1756, and those two remained the leading examples for nearly half a century, imitated by a few much inferior in quality and staying power. "The judicious reader," said Smollett's Preface in 1756, "will perceive that (the writer's) aim has been to exhibit a succinct plan of every performance; to point out the most striking beauties and glaring defects; to illustrate their remarks with proper quotations, and to convey their remarks in such a manner as might best conduce to the entertainment of the public." In six months the *Critical* had reviewed some hundred and twenty British and about thirty foreign books, and given in addition short notices of painting and statuary.

The literary or more critical public was thus educated to a wider appreciation, and brought into closer relation with current literature and its writers. The advertisement afforded by criticism must have increased sales, especially to provincial readers whose ears new publications had been long in reaching. Further, the review was bound, in good hands, to be very influential in raising the standard of literature and taste. No good author need fear a reviewer's abuse, although he might his neglect, for, in Bentley's words, no man was ever written down but by himself. Authors, in fact, stood chiefly to gain by the reviews; and not least because of the new field of literary work thus opened out to the aspirant in letters. Writing for the reviews was a beginning, and it was fairly well paid.

* See G. F. Barwick, *Some Magazines of the Eighteenth Century*, Biblio. Soc. Transactions, vol. x. 1910.

Thus we find that Charles Jenkinson, later "the arch-mediocrity" Lord Liverpool, preceded his political career by writing for them in the late fifties.

The novel, too, played a prominent part in developing the reading public. Since the Restoration the output of tales of all kinds had been steadily growing, until there existed for the reader of 1720 a very considerable library of romances. But most were too imbued with Restoration morals, or want of them, and many were merely reprints of the more popular works of the Charles II. period. For example, the title, *The Maidenhood lost by Moonlight*, is expressive of the almost universal theme ; and Keach's *Travels of True Godliness*, originally printed in 1683 and appearing in a ninth edition in 1726, is a typical reprint of such a moral allegory as *Pilgrim's Progress* had made popular. The most popular novelist of Queen Anne's reign was Mrs. Manley, with her *Secret Memoirs*, her *Power of Love*, and many other productions of doubtful taste. In addition, there were many translations of Scarron and Calprenède and stories like the *Jealous Lovers* from the Spanish ; the *Arabian Nights* went through six editions between 1708 and 1725 ; and on all sides were feeble and uninteresting tales of illustrious and illegal lovers.*

Then the novel began to improve, yet rather slowly. Mrs. Haywood succeeded Mrs. Manley, and around 1730 the novel reader had still to rely on the dullest of love stories, whose bias was always to intrigue. The popular type was "a collection of several entertaining histories and occurrences which fell under the observation of a lady in search after happiness" ; of which there were endless variations, all alike tedious. But there had been an important advance in the work of Defoe ; he had given the novel a change of theme, and brought to it an altogether superior power of expression. Then came *Gulliver's Travels*, and after it imaginative imitations like a *Trip to the Moon*, published in 1728. For a time it would seem that the novel slackened off, dwindling away as it became more decent, reverting to translations, as if no more was to be looked for but versions of Crebillon and Marivaux. Richardson and Fielding rescued it, and gave to it that impulse which made the novel the dominant form of popular literature. So great was the demand that Millar gave Fielding £600 for *Tom Jones* and £1000 for *Amelia*, and is said to have made more thousands than he gave hundreds.†

* See A. Esdaile, *List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740*.

† C. Knight, *Shadows of the Old Booksellers*, 1865, p. 217.

The rise of the great novel gave fresh life to the whole race of story-spinners. The public was ready to devour countless second and third-rate novels, as well as a *Pamela* and a *Tom Jones*; and the latter inevitably raised the standard of the others. Indeed, it is noticeable how Mrs. Haywood's *Betsy Thoughtless* and *Jenny and Jemmy Jessamy* are much stronger, more interesting and better written than her novels published before Richardson's example had acted as an inspiration. When there was thus created something worth reading, the general reader was multiplied. "Novels," says Vamp the publisher in Foote's *Author* (1757), "are a pretty light summer reading, and do very well at Tunbridge, Bristol and other watering-places; no bad commodity either for the West India trade."^{*} The middle of the century saw Oriental tales in vogue, a favourite item in the magazine; about 1760 there became popular "a kind of fashionable family novel with which the stately mother and the boarding-school miss were instructed to fortify themselves against the immorality of Fielding and Smollett"; † about 1770 there was a regular supply of moral and fashionable novels like *The Fine Lady, or the Younger Sister*, in which the reader is introduced to "piety and cheerful prudence leading unexperienced youth through labyrinths of life." These latter, for which the publisher paid from ten to twenty pounds,‡ were sold at six shillings, and their number indicates a steady demand. A reader pleased by perusal of *The Thoughtless Ward* might be tempted to read *Sir Charles Grandison*; so the taste for reading might insensibly be acquired, until Pope and Locke, Young and Johnson, should be among the authors with whose work the averagely educated man would be acquainted.

From the novel to the circulating library is but a step, since fiction has been the mainstay and possibly the creator of the popular library. At least it is a striking testimony to their close connection that the appearance of *Pamela* and the establishment of the first London circulating library coincide. Thus we find that about 1740 a dissenting minister, the Rev. Samuel Fancourt, had set up a library, for membership of which he charged a fee of a guinea a year.§ A rival quickly appeared in the person of a Mr. Wright, who announced in 1743 that he was prepared to lend "all manner of

• Foote, *The Author*, act 1. sc. ii.

† J. Forster, *Life of Goldsmith*, 1854, i. 188.

‡ John Britton and Rees, *Reminiscences of Literary London*, 1779-1853.

§ W. E. A. Axon, "London Circulating Library of 1743," in *The Library*, 1900.

books at sixteen shillings a year." The movement spread rapidly; in 1745 Nicholson at Cambridge was lending maps and textbooks to students; in 1750 Hutton established a library at Birmingham; and in 1761 the *Annual Register* notes how "the reading female hires her novels from some Country Circulating library, which consists of about a hundred volumes." *

"I have been informed," Lackington wrote in his *Memoirs*, "that when circulating libraries were first opened, the booksellers were much alarmed, and their rapid increase, added to their fears, had led them to think that the sale of books would be much diminished by such libraries. But experience has proved that the sale of books, so far from being diminished by them, has been greatly promoted, as from those repositories many thousand families have been cheaply supplied with books, by which the taste of reading has become much more general, and thousands of books are purchased every year, by such as have first borrowed them at those libraries, and after reading, approving of them, become purchasers." † Lackington's observation of experience was just, and the action of the booksellers in setting up their own libraries shows that they, too, quickly appreciated the stimulus which the libraries gave to bookselling. Miss Lydia Melford in *Humphrey Clinker* wrote to her friend from Bath, that "we girls are allowed to accompany them to the booksellers' shops, which are charming places of resort where we read novels, plays, pamphlets and newspapers, for so small a subscription as a crown a quarter"; and similarly we read in Dr. Thomas Campbell's diary of his visit to London in 1775: "Strolled into the Chapter Coffee-house, Ave Mary Lane, which I had heard was remarkable for a large collection of books, and a reading society. I subscribed a shilling for the right of a year's reading, and found all the new publications I sought." ‡

We have noted earlier how, by 1724, the more important provincial towns had each its Press, from which issued a newspaper at first little more than a reprint of the London papers; § we saw how the provincial magazine had come into being by the middle of the century; and lastly, we have observed the rapidity with which the provinces adopted the lending library. All were signs of a new era

* *Annual Register*, 1761, p. 207.

† *Memoirs of J. Lackington*, 1803, letter xl. p. 255.

‡ *Diary of a Visit to England in 1775*, ed. S. Raymond, 1854. March 21, 1775.

§ At the beginning provincial papers were often beggared for want of news; one adopted the expedient of printing sections of the *Bible* to fill its columns.

whose great improvements in the means of travelling were fast breaking down the barrier between the country and the capital. The *Annual Register* of 1761 was moved to comment on this change. "The effects of this easy communication," it said, "have almost daily grown more and more visible. The several great cities, and we might add many poor country towns, seem to be inspired with an ambition of becoming little Londons of the part of the Kingdom wherein they are situated." The writer had to admit that the London influences had "cultivated the minds, and improved the behaviour of the ladies and gentlemen of the country," but he lamented that those ladies and gentlemen began, as well, to ape the "manners, amusements, fashions, vices and follies of the metropolis." *

Most important from the position of the literary calling was the enormous extension in the reading public which was the natural result. No longer were the coffee-house frequenters of fashionable London the only readers, and the illiteracy of the squirearchy was a thing of the past. Country readers in the first quarter of the century had been very naïve as well as very few. One thinks of the old gentleman who consulted his atlas for the position of Lilliput, and of Southey's Dr. Daniel Dove to whom "a book carried with it authority in its very aspect"; and among the rural population where reading was a very rare accomplishment, of Sir John Herschel's anecdote of the blacksmith reading *Pamela* to the villagers round the forge, who were so enthralled by the tale that they had the church bells rung to celebrate the heroine's marriage. But the circulating library, and the press, and quick travel to and from London soon made one unified English reading public. The works of Defoe, in particular, seem to have been very popular; they were among the standard prize-books given in the schools. Typical of the change is Goldsmith's portrait of Livy Primrose, as being thoroughly acquainted with the dialogue in Defoe's *Religious Courtship*, with *Robinson Crusoe* and *Tom Jones*.

* *Annual Register*, 1761, pp. 205-8.

(To be continued.)

ACT- AND SCENE-DIVISION IN THE PLAYS OF SHAKESPEARE

BY MARK HUNTER

I

A SYSTEMATIC examination of the subject of act- and scene-division in Shakespeare's plays seems desirable in view, first, of the suggestion made by Mr. Granville-Barker in *The Players' Shakespeare* that the dramas of Shakespeare are not in all cases constructed on the basis of a five-part plan, but may be found at times to conform better to some other rhythm; secondly, of the theory of "unbroken continuity" maintained by the editors of the New Cambridge Shakespeare,* and illustrated by their practice of relegating act- and scene-headings to inconspicuous positions within square brackets, in order to indicate that the headings, though useful for purposes of reference, are without authority, and otherwise without significance.

It is impossible in this matter to treat the plays of Shakespeare in isolation, or to consider the question of act- and scene-division without regard to the general practice of the Elizabethan stage, and of writers of plays during the Elizabethan period. For the Elizabethan stage as a whole the available evidence would, I believe, warrant the following conclusions:—

(i.) All regular plays, whether written for performance in ordinary play-houses by professional or specially trained actors, or belonging to the academic variety, were normally constructed in accordance with a five-act plan. No other scheme of division, and no scheme without division, was recognised as normal; †

(ii.) Act-headings corresponding to act-divisions were regularly inserted in academic plays, and appear in a very large number, probably forming the majority, of stage-plays;

* Also by Mr. R. Crompton Rhodes in his essay *The Stagery of Shakespeare*.

† Short one-act plays, such as *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, seem to be quite exceptional.

(iii.) An act is generally, but not necessarily, divided into scenes, the division between scenes coinciding regularly—with certain apparent exceptions—with a cleared stage. A cleared stage is indicated by the stage-direction *Exit*, when only one character is left on the stage, otherwise by the stage-direction *Exeunt*, not followed by a *Manet* or *Manent* ;

(iv.) Apparent exceptions to (iii.) may be found : (a) when the action is transferred from the main to the after or upper stage ; (b) when a continuous battle is represented ;

(v.) Scene-headings, since the division between scene and scene is otherwise indicated, are really superfluous. They are however frequently inserted, and in plays in which the headings reflect a stage practice, and a dramatic fact, and not, as in academic plays, a literary or pedantic convention, the headings conform to the rules stated in (iii.) and (iv.) ;

(vi.) In academic plays, as also in plays not really academic, but prepared for the press so as to present a literary appearance in conformity with classical tradition, the custom, adopted with greater or less consistency, is to insert a fresh scene-heading whenever a character enters, the heading being followed by the names of the characters taking part in the misnamed scene.*

II

The principle underlying scene-division and scene-headings in Elizabethan stage plays presents no real difficulty. The regular correspondence between the stage-directions and the headings, whenever they occur, in printed plays (including eighteen out of the thirty-six plays in the First Folio of Shakespeare), provides adequate confirmation of the principle ; while for the practice of the stage the question is settled beyond dispute by the evidence furnished in the extant theatrical plots, in which scene-division, conforming to the principle of the empty stage, is clearly marked by a straight line drawn right across the column.†

* In academic plays act-headings reflect a dramatic fact, and, so far as acts are concerned, there is no difference in form or principle between the two classes of plays. The scene-headings in academic plays, on the other hand, reflect no dramatic fact, and have little ascertainable basis in common sense. It is also characteristic of academic and pseudo-academic plays to reduce stage-directions of all kinds to a minimum, or to dispense with them altogether.

† See *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, pp. 127 and following ; as also the same scholar's essay *Alcazar and Orlando* (Malone Society).

The scene-headings in academic or pseudo-academic plays have, as has been said, no relation to dramatic fact. They are, however, significant for the present inquiry as providing evidence to warrant the conclusion that the act- and scene-headings in the First Folio were not inserted in accordance with any literary convention or classical tradition. The academic plays furnished a model which the "setters-forth" of the First Folio did not copy.

On the practice of the Elizabethan stage, as indicated in the old copies, there is no room for controversy, and it is to be regretted that modern editors, in their anxiety to serve the needs, real or supposed, of the general reader, should have ignored the rule. More by accident than by design, the scene-division in "standard editions" of Shakespeare has, in the majority of cases, come to correspond with the scene-division of the First Folio, but the division of the editors rests, not on the fact of an empty stage, but on the principle of definite change of locality, a change frequently demanded by the editors themselves, and having no reference to impressions which could have been received by an Elizabethan audience. The general reader, it is supposed, demands very definite impressions of locality, and the endeavour to satisfy this demand by descriptive headings in the editions, and by frequent changes of realistic scenery on the stage, has the unfortunate result of weakening a much more important impression than that of place, an impression which was not interrupted under the simpler conditions of the Elizabethan stage, viz. of continuity of action within the act.*

Specially unfortunate are the results which are due to editorial ignoring of the qualifying exceptions to the "empty-stage" rule. One flagrant example of such misdoing has been pilloried by Sir Edmund Chambers.† In *2 Henry IV.*, iv. iv., the editors, following Clarke and Wright, begin a new scene at line 133 in the middle of a speech, though interrupted sense and mutilated rhythm cry out in protest against them. Another example is noted in the General Introduction to the New Cambridge Shakespeare, as occurring in *Romeo and Juliet*, where the editors, from Rowe onwards, by beginning a new scene at ii. i. 43 render quite pointless the words of Romeo: "He jests at scars that never felt a wound."

* Allowances being made for a modest margin of clerical and typographical error in the First Folio, it may generally be maintained that, where there is a difference in scene-division between the Folio and modern editions the Folio is always right.

† *The Elizabethan Stage*, iii. p. 65, Note 3.

Such tamperings with the text of Shakespeare—for they are little better than that—have plainly as motive the desire to remove from the text evidence of the older stagecraft which, by modern standards, must be reckoned crude—the use of the main and the after stage in conjunction, and of simple devices to indicate that characters in full view of the audience must nevertheless be imagined as invisible to other characters on the stage.

A third example occurs in *Measure for Measure*, II. i., where, at line 284, Capell, followed by the later editors, introduces a new scene. This is a particularly bad example of arbitrary editorial methods, for the dialogue and the Folio stage-direction alike make it perfectly clear that the Duke does not at this point leave the stage, and that consequently there is no change of scene. The editors, however, in their anxiety to convey exact impressions of locality, not warranted by the text, have decided that before line 283 the place represented is A Room in a Prison, and after that point A Street before the Prison, and, to give effect to this decision, deliberately altered stage-directions which are in full conformity with the dialogue, and which even a modern producer might find sufficient.*

Other instances of the same kind might be produced, but these will serve. The treatment of battle-scenes by the editors, following or followed by the producers, is equally unhappy. On the Elizabethan stage a new scene, while not interrupting a general impression of continuity in the action, might or might not imply a change of locality; but it always implied the introduction of a new phase in the action, and consequently a short, generally a very short, interval in time. Battles, however, on the Elizabethan stage are all of a piece, and while they are in progress felt intervals of time are precluded. The departure of fighting men at one door, succeeded by the entrance of fighting men at another door, gave the impression of continuity, and the impression was strengthened by the noise of alarms, when, for a moment, the stage was cleared. When the Folio has scene-headings the practice of the older stage is clearly indicated. When there are no headings the stage-directions, together with the dialogue, enable us to supply them correctly.

In this matter a reference to Rowe's edition (1709) may be helpful and instructive. By Rowe's time the old principle of scene-

* Rowe, rightly treating the whole as one scene, was content with the simple description "The Prison."

division—the “empty-stage”—had already given way to a new principle based on a change of place, and traceable to the extended use of realistic scenery; but the scenic arrangements of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were still of a simple character;* so it comes about that, when Rowe was obviously interested in his work and taking pains, his scene-divisions, where battles are represented, correspond pretty faithfully with the divisions marked or implied in the Folios, whereas elsewhere his arrangement, for the most part, corresponds neither with that of the Folios nor with that of later editors. Thus in *1 Henry IV.*, v. iv., the Folios and Rowe have one scene, where later editors have two, while in the fourth act of *2 Henry IV.* the later editors make in the earlier part of the act three scenes where Rowe has only one.†

In *Richard III.*, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, the comparison and contrast between the Folios and Rowe, on the one hand, and the later editors on the other, are equally, or even more strongly, marked. Thus in the first act of *Coriolanus* the seven scenes of the later editors make but one scene, described as “The Walls of Coriolus,”‡ in Rowe, the editors having ten scenes in the act to Rowe’s four. On the Elizabethan stage we may imagine, despite the “four or five most vile and ragged foils,” the battle-scenes did not, as they frequently do on the modern stage, fall painfully flat, but went with a swing and were convincing. In Rowe’s time, although stage conditions had altered, the simplicity of scenic arrangements probably secured effects not dissimilar from those felt by an Elizabethan audience.

To editors of Shakespeare the guidance of the First Folio, in the matter of scene-division and scene-headings, might seem sufficient. Where headings appear in the Folio there is warrant for treating them as part of the text. Where they are absent, the place to supply them (within brackets of the appropriate form) is fixed by the stage-directions; and so restored, they may, as reflecting the practice of the Elizabethan stage, be regarded as authoritative. On the other hand, descriptions of place, which in standard editions always follow the scene-headings, are, except where the place is fixed by the

* The frequent heading in Rowe “The Street” rather than “A Street,” suggests the use in the theatre of scenery which did duty for a street anywhere.

† Owing to the false division, already mentioned, in the later part of the act, the editors divide the act into five scenes where the Folios and Rowe are content with two.

‡ Rowe’s form. Shakespeare, following North, has throughout *Corioles*, which modern editions correct to *Coriolis*.

dialogue, wholly without authority, are sometimes significant of little more than the editor's personal conception of appropriate staging, are always superfluous,* are often highly questionable, and have not seldom—notable examples occur in the editorial treatment of *Macbeth* and *King Lear*—gratuitously introduced serious difficulties in regard to questions both of construction and characterisation.

III

The presence of act-headings, in accordance with the five-part plan, in so large a number of Elizabethan plays of all kinds, and the complete absence of any other recognised scheme of division, makes it almost certain that the arrangement in five acts was regarded as normal. Of the two hundred odd copies of plays examined by me for the purpose of this study, the percentage of those which conform to the plan approaches seventy. If we exclude all academic plays as not being in question; all other plays not written for the theatre; and also the plays of Shakespeare, there remain a little over a hundred plays written for the theatre, including plots of lost plays. Seventy-one, or seventy per cent., of these plays show by their headings the five-act scheme. Moreover, in thirty-two of the seventy-one, the evidence is of a special character. In four of the extant plots division into five acts is absolutely fixed; in one case by dividing marks between the acts, distinguished from the lines which separate the scenes; in the other three cases by the appearance before each act of a Chorus or Presenter. In nineteen Jonson plays (the plot of *The Fall of Mortimer* included) the five-act scheme is, by precept and practice, determined beyond dispute. In five plays (Jonson plays and the plots excluded) the scheme is again confirmed by Presenters; and four plays, with headings for five acts, survive in the original manuscript, and so leave no doubt of the playwrights' intention. It is legitimate to argue that the act-headings in the remaining thirty-nine plays have, at least in intention, a really dramatic, as they certainly have a theatrical, significance.

There is moreover evidence of another kind, showing that playwrights were accustomed to compose dramas in acts, and not

* Thus in *Henry V*, the scene (III. iii.) in which Catherine and Alice speak French, is assigned by the editors to Rouen. There is nothing about Rouen in the dialogue, but every reader and spectator, without the assistance of standard edition or playbill, knows that Catherine took her English lesson "somewhere in France," and that is sufficient.

as undivided wholes, and that the number of acts was five. In 1598 Chapman received a loan on "ij ectes of a tragedie of bengemens plotte," i.e. a tragedy composed in accordance with a plot drawn up by Ben Jonson. Later in the year Chapman drew further sums on delivery of the remaining "ijj ackes," and in full payment of his tragedy.*

In 1613 Robert Daborne received advances and payment amounting to £20 for a tragedy, *Machiavell and the Devil*, under an agreement in accordance with which he was paid £6 in earnest, £4 "vpon delivery in of three acts," and £10 "vpon delivery of y^e last scene pfited." We learn also from the *Henslowe Papers* that Daborne was working on another play, the *Arraignment of London*, and, in order that it should be finished in time, commissioned Cyril Tourneur to write one act of it. Later Daborne promised to bring Henslowe "papers" of a third play, *The Owl*, "to the valew of three Acts."†

It is scarcely necessary to summon Ben Jonson as a witness. His practice, illustrated in all his plays, is well known; but special reference may be made to the argument, or plot, prefaced to *The New Inn*, the plot attached to the fragment of *The Fall of Mortimer* (both exhibiting the five-act plan): his frequent use of Presenters; as also the explicit announcement of the theory of dramatic construction in the second Chorus of *The Magnetic Lady*, in which the division into five acts is treated as something about which there can be no dispute. One cannot well dismiss Ben Jonson's testimony as that of a witness strongly biased in favour of classical tradition. Jonson wrote for the stage under the usual playwrights' terms; he was solicitous that his dramas should be well acted, and was justly indignant when they were negligently played ‡; and though, with somewhat perverse pedantry, he later elected to present his plays to the reading public in an academic rather than in a stage dress, at an earlier period, when the quarto versions of the two Humour plays were prepared by him for the press, the form adopted in act- and scene-headings, and it may be added in stage-directions, was exactly the same as that exemplified in the First Folio of Shakespeare. The evidence of Ben Jonson, therefore, rightly interpreted,

* *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. i. pp. 82, 98, 100.

† *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, pp. 67 and following.

‡ See the title-page and "Address to the Reader," *The New Inn* (octavo, 1631).

lends no support to the view that the act- and scene-headings in the First Folio were inserted, mainly or at all, in deference to a traditional classical convention. That the five-act scheme derives from classical sources is not in dispute ; but so does much else that is vital in the form and substance of Elizabethan plays ; and in the absence of proof that what was borrowed or inherited was never assimilated, the objection, based on classical tradition, is not to the purpose.

For the absence of act-headings in a large number of Elizabethan plays, including all the Shakespeare quartos published during the poet's lifetime, reasons, amounting to something more than plausible conjecture, may without great difficulty be assigned. Defects of this sort in pirated plays, or in plays, whether pirated or not, which were made up from actors' parts, need no explanation. If, again, it was the custom of the playwright in delivering a MS. play to the theatre to preface a plot (we may remember the three Jonson plots already mentioned, as also the plot which Jonson showed to the Admiral's men in 1597),* it may have been judged needless to insert act-headings in the body of the play. Scene-headings were superfluous in any case ; and if the division into acts was not provided for in the plot, it may have been indicated in the MSS. by signs, sufficient for the purposes of the prompt-book, but without meaning for a compositor. When later the play came to be sold by the Company to the bookseller—the author having no particular interest in the transaction—the plot would generally not accompany the MSS., and the omission, whether due to oversight or indifference, to complete a copy which in the absence of the plot was incomplete, would trouble no one. Standards in such things were low, and none of the parties concerned took his responsibilities very seriously. It is moreover not impossible that the printer, to save space, or for other reasons, dispensed with headings which were in his copy, but which he regarded as of no importance. However all this may be, the accumulated force of positive evidence in support of the five-act plan, as the generally accepted form of dramatic composition during the Elizabethan period, far outweighs the purely negative evidence which may be placed in the other scale.

* *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, 182. An "Author's Plot" must be distinguished from a "Theatre Plot." The former we should now call a Scenario. The extant theatre plots differ entirely in form and contents from the Jonson plots, and were obviously intended to serve a quite distinct purpose.

IV

The facts restated in the foregoing paragraphs, in reference to the Elizabethan drama generally, are not questioned by Professor Dover Wilson.* Indeed, he seems explicitly to accept them. He fails, however, as it appears to me, to draw the true inferences from the facts ; and he altogether underestimates the amount of evidence necessary to prove his thesis, that Shakespeare, in an important matter, deliberately departed from principles of dramatic construction, which were not only based on literary tradition, but were fully recognised in the practice of the contemporary stage. It is surely little more than a commonplace of criticism to insist that in matters relatively external, matters capable of being formulated in rules which any one can observe and exemplified by models which any one can copy, Shakespeare was neither reformer nor innovator ; that, on the contrary, he accepted traditions and conventions as he found them ; and if he turned them to very special account, it was not by striking out new lines for himself in matters of form, but in virtue of what Matthew Arnold called " the incommunicable part " of genius.

Professor Wilson, moreover, does not perceive what a very remarkable theory he asks us to accept. Shakespeare, it appears, from the first rejected the idea that plays should be divided into acts and scenes. He wrote his plays, and saw that they were acted, " in unbroken continuity." Even when he was revising other men's work he strictly held to his own new principle, and if in adapted plays act-headings are to be found, they are there to witness that Shakespeare meant to delete them, but inadvertently omitted to do so. His own plays when they left Shakespeare's hand had, we must suppose, no act- or scene-headings, and so long as he continued with his company his plays, and apparently his alone, were acted without pause. When however his back was turned, " after he had left the Globe," his plays were made to conform to the usual practice, and act-headings were inserted by the players in the prompt-books. From these prompt-books Jaggard printed, and the act-headings, inserted in the prompt-books in defiance of Shakespeare's principle, were in this way transferred to the First Folio. The scene-headings

* Textual Introduction to the New Cambridge Shakespeare (*The Tempest*).

in eighteen out of thirty-six plays were supplied from the theatre plots.

Now, that in twenty-five out of the thirty-six plays included in the First Folio the act-headings were inserted in the prompt-books some time before the collected matter for the Folio was sent to Jaggard, is highly probable. The arrangement in these plays has generally satisfied editors, and has no appearance of being hastily or perfunctorily carried through. Also the scene-headings in eighteen plays may have been supplied from plots, though here the stage-directions afford sufficient guidance. In five plays, viz. *The Taming of the Shrew*, *King John*, *Henry V.*, *1 Henry VI.*, and *Hamlet*, in which the arrangement of headings is either incomplete or manifestly faulty; and in six plays, viz. *2 and 3 Henry VI.*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Timon of Athens*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, in which, except for the initial heading *Actus primus*, *Scæna prima*, there is in the Folio no attempt to divide the plays into acts, the prompt-copies evidently had no headings. The difficulty, if it be a real difficulty, presented by *The Taming of the Shrew*, *King John*, *Henry V.*, and *1 Henry VI.* will be treated later. In regard to *Hamlet* the sin of commission (I think there is one) must be attributed to the editors, not to any one concerned in the preparation of the Folio; while the solitary heading, *Actus Primus*, *Scæna Prima*, in the remaining six plays, argues a task undertaken but not carried out, rather than, as Mr. Crompton Rhodes contends, merely "a device of typographical uniformity with no theatrical meaning or origin."* The presumption however that the act-headings were inserted in the prompt-books only after Shakespeare's retirement to Stratford, rests on pure guesswork; and worse than a guess is the assumption that the insertion of the headings contravened a principle accepted by Shakespeare in the composition and production of his plays. For this is exactly the question to be determined. If the division into acts in the twenty-five plays is in accordance with the arrangement countenanced by the poet when he was present to participate in, and perhaps to oversee, the production of his plays, then the headings in the Folio are authoritative. If the headings were inserted in ignorance or in defiance of the true Shakespearian rule, then to style them "void of authority" is to use a very mild term. Grant the second alternative and, apart from other consequences, we are driven to one of two conclusions,

* *The Stagery of Shakespeare*, p. 73.

neither of which is it easy to accept. Either in this matter Shakespeare's "Fellows" acted in sheer ignorance of Shakespeare's principle—which would be very extraordinary in men who had so often been required to put the principle into practice, or they showed some effrontery when, at the moment when they were treating Shakespeare's plays in a manner which, as they were well aware, he would have disapproved, they nevertheless proclaimed the pious wish that the poet had lived to oversee the work.

The curious Folio stage-direction in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, "They sleepe all the Act"—the exact meaning of which I do not attempt to explain—Professor Wilson finds "eloquent of the shifts . . . imposed upon those who attempted to divide the seamless texture of Shakespeare's dramas." Mr. Crompton Rhodes, who in his essay, *The Stagery of Shakespeare*, takes sides with the editors of the New Cambridge Shakespeare, sees some significance in the fact that this is "the only direction in all Shakespeare that has any possible connection with act pauses." This fact is in no way remarkable, but it is remarkable that Mr. Rhodes and Professor Wilson have both overlooked another fact, rather damaging to the theory of "the seamless texture," viz. that in the text of Shakespeare—not stage-directions, but dialogue—there are at least a dozen allusions, or (if we reject the epilogue to *Henry VIII.** as non-Shakespearian), at least eleven allusions to acts, as regular features of a stage play. In one of the passages the reference is to the performance of an actual play, though a play within a play.† In the other ten the language is figurative, but the allusions are not less apposite on that account. Further, in nine cases out of ten the image of an act in a play is associated with other images which, taken together, call up something like a complete picture of a dramatic performance—theatre, audience, stage, play, players, the casting, playing or "discharging" of parts, prologue, scenes, pageants, exits, and entrances. The fact that Shakespeare naturally and habitually thought of an act in such connections seems quite irreconcilable with the view that the whole conception of an act as integral part of a play's composition was alien to his mind and practice.‡

* "Some come to take their ease, And sleepe an Act or two."

† *Hamlet*, III. ii. 80-83: "play . . . scene . . . act."

‡ The ten passages are: (1) *The Tempest*, II. i. 259-262: "cast . . . act . . . prologue . . . discharge"; (2) *As You Like It*, II. vii. 137-163: "theatre . . . pageants . . . scene . . . stage . . . players . . . exits . . . entrances . . . plays many parts . . . acts . . . plays his part . . . scene"; (3) *The Winter's Tale*, v. ii.

The conclusion which Professor Wilson draws from the act-headings of early plays, adapted by Shakespeare from older plays, strikes me as very singular. The "irregular and haphazard fashion" in which the divisions occur in these plays affords evidence, he contends, that Shakespeare "omitted to delete the act-headings," which presumably were in the old copies on which he worked. The plays in question are *The Taming of the Shrew*, *King John*, and *1 Henry VI.*; and two of the old plays which Shakespeare adapted, viz. *The Taming of a Shrew* and *The Troublesome Raigne*, are extant. We are to suppose that the act-headings either were irregularly inserted to begin with, or got disturbed during the revision. Now, unless Shakespeare in revising an old play literally wrote over the original matter—a method which the author of the Shakespearian fragment in *Sir Thomas More* did not adopt, which would have resulted in a highly unsuitable prompt-copy, and have completely baffled Jaggard's compositors—unless this was the method, deletion or failure to delete is not in question. We are rather concerned with highly unintelligent copying; the copying of matter which, on the theory, the reviser emphatically did not want. But then, strangely enough, the quartos of the *Taming of a Shrew* and *The Troublesome Raigne* have no act-headings for Shakespeare to delete or fail to delete; to copy or refrain from copying. It may be urged, however, that Shakespeare worked over the old playwright's manuscript, and the act-headings were there. If so, the argument from the absence of act-headings in the good Shakespeare quartos completely collapses. If the printer dispensed with the headings in the non-Shakespearian dramas, he may have done the same thing—I do not say he did—when he was setting up the true Shakespearian plays.

As a matter of fact, the irregular and haphazard arrangement in these early plays amounts to very little. The last act-heading in *1 Henry VI.* is misplaced. I can offer no obvious explanation; but Professor Wilson's hypothesis lends no assistance. What has happened in regard to *The Shrew* and *King John* is an easy guess. In *The Shrew* one act-heading, the second, is missing: that is all; for it is very far from certain that the heading of the fourth act,

88-90: "act . . . audience"; (4) *King John*, II. i. 375-6: "theatre . . . scenes and acts"; (5) *2 Henry IV.*, I. i. 155-6: "stage . . . act"; (6) *Richard III.*, II. 38-9: "scene . . . act"; (7) *Macbeth*, I. iii. 129: "prologue . . . act"; (8) *ibid.* II. iv. 5, 6: "act . . . stage"; (9) *Hamlet*, III. iv. 51: "act"; *ibid.* V. ii. 349: "audience . . . act."

transferred from its original position by the editors, is in the Folio misplaced ; and to argue from the omission of one act-heading that the presence of the others is due to an oversight, is to strain a theory to breaking-point. In *King John* the trouble arises from the accidental substitution—clearly a mere slip—of *Scæna Secunda* for *Actus Secundus*, the consequent substitution of *Actus Secundus* for *Actus Tertius*, and the hasty insertion of *Actus Tertius* in an impossible place.* The error is of the same kind as the error, to be mentioned presently, in *Henry V.*, and cannot be accounted for in Professor Wilson's way.

The awkward circumstance that the play of *Henry V.* is divided into five parts by the speeches of the Chorus is discounted by Mr. Rhodes by a reference to the faulty correspondence in the Folio between the five act-headings and the five Chorus-speeches. No act-heading is placed above the second Chorus ; the third and the fourth Chorus are under the headings *Actus Secundus* and *Actus Tertius* respectively, and the heading *Actus Quartus* is not followed by a Chorus. Accordingly, Mr. Rhodes urges, “ the pauses cannot conceivably have taken place where the acts are marked in the Folio.” But this is not his thesis, any more than it is any one's thesis that the Folio text, in regard to act-headings or anything else, is infallible. Mr. Rhodes set out to prove, not that act-headings in the Folio do not always coincide with pauses in the action, but that, since “ the construction of the plays shows that there is no need of pauses, and indeed the entire movement is against any interval,” headings which presume a pause are inadmissible. He is confronted with a play which beyond question has five parts and four pauses, and it is not to the purpose to rejoin that the double method adopted to indicate the pauses has been applied with some inconsistency. The error itself is easily explained. There were no act-headings in the prompt-book—indeed, the Chorus rendered act-headings superfluous, and the person, whoever he was, who supplied the headings for the Folio accidentally missed the second Chorus, consequently assigned the wrong headings to the third and fourth Chorus ; then, having two headings on his hands for the last Chorus, attached the right one, and hastily shot the other into the middle of the wrongly headed fourth act.

* That the fourth and fifth acts have both the heading *Actus Quartus* is plainly due to a misprint.

V

Mr. Rhodes' assertion, quoted in the previous section, that the entire movement of Shakespeare's plays is against any interval, though a personal opinion, unbacked by argument, raises a question which is at once fundamental and final, the question whether, after all, the five-act plan, however faithful to classical tradition, and however much in accordance with older theatrical practice, has a real significance for dramatic art. Have these outer lines of division any vital relation to the inner movement in a play's evolution, or may they, without injury to the essential structure, be shifted or obliterated? If they have a true relationship, a rearrangement or alteration in the number of the parts, approximate equality between the parts being observed, must cut right across the original principle of construction.

Ben Jonson in the construction of his comedies regarded the outer division into five acts, not as a law imposed by arbitrary enactment, but as the recognition of a fact in close relation to the development of the play through "Protasis," "Epitasis," "Catastasis" and "Catastrophe,"* the point of separation between the Epitasis and Catastasis being (though Jonson does not mention it in the particular passage) the Climax or Crisis. Dr. Bradley, using a different terminology, finds much the same principles illustrated in the construction of Shakespeare's great tragedies. "The Crisis," he says, "as a rule, comes somewhere near the middle of the play; and where it is well marked it has the effect, as to construction, of dividing the play into five parts instead of three [the three being Situation, Conflict, and Catastrophe]; these parts showing (1) a situation not yet one of conflict; (2) the rise and development of the conflict, in which A or B advances on the whole till it reaches (3) the Crisis, on which follows (4) the decline of A or B towards (5) the Catastrophe."†

In striking contrast with the thesis of unbroken continuity, maintained by Professor Wilson and Mr. Crompton Rhodes, is the critical judgement of Edward Rose, who, in an essay, *Shakespeare as an Adapter*, written many years ago, drew attention to the very noticeable difference between the construction of *King John* and that of the old play on which it was based, *The Troublesome Raigne*.

* *The Magnetic Lady*: the second chorus.
† *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 51.

Rose approached the subject from the point of view of a practical playwright, and his testimony is therefore not without special value. Shakespeare, he believed, "always paid great attention to the construction of his acts," and in *King John* he "has made the inter-acts divide the story into five complete and symmetrical parts." He then analyses the acts according to their contents, and shows, I think, conclusively, that in this matter the construction of the play leaves little to be desired.*

The methods of construction observable in the early plays of Shakespeare are, for the present inquiry, specially interesting and significant. *King John*, however, on the whole, is not a typical play, and it may be worth while briefly to examine the construction, in respect of act-division, of another early drama, the workmanship of which is admittedly of a very high order.

Romeo and Juliet is one of the six plays which in the Folios are without act-headings. The point of division between the first and second acts of *Romeo and Juliet* is fixed by a sonnet-chorus, but otherwise the act-headings, as we have them in modern editions, were assigned by Rowe, whose arrangement, so far as I am aware, has been questioned by no succeeding editor. Indeed, there is little room for difference, the dividing lines being particularly obvious, whether the fortunes of the lovers be regarded as the theme, or the view be extended to include social and political issues—the destinies of the family and the community to which the lovers belong. In the more comprehensive treatment the three-part division is enforced by the three entrances of the Prince; first, during the Situation, when the brawl between the factions threatens to become serious; secondly, at the Crisis, immediately led up to by the slaying of Mercutio and Tybalt, and immediately followed by the banishment of Romeo. Lastly, at the moment of reconciliation of the family feud, rendered possible by the sacrifice of the lovers—the Catastrophe. With attention concentrated on the story of the lovers, the structure of the play is found to consist, inevitably, of five parts; the conclusion of each part occurring precisely at the

* A paper read before the New Shakspere Society, November, 1877, and reprinted from *Macmillan's Magazine* (November, 1878) in the Introduction to the Praetorius facsimile of the first Quarto of *The Troublesome Raigne*. Rose takes the easy rectification made by the editors in the Folio act-headings as representing the original division. The act-headings in *King John*, which Professor Wilson attributes to the old playwright, Rose regards as witnessing in a signal manner to the superiority of Shakespeare's craftsmanship. Clearly Professor Wilson's is not a self-evident proposition.

place where Rowe has marked the conclusion of an act. In the first act is exhibited the love mutually conceived for Romeo by Juliet, and for Juliet by Romeo, who is thereby freed from his infatuation for Rosaline. This is the situation. The subject of the second act is the wooing and wedding. The third act, which contains the Crisis, concludes—and surely no conclusion of a tragedy's third act could be more unmistakably marked—when Juliet, separated from her husband, brutally treated by her father, callously abandoned by her mother, and wickedly betrayed by the nurse, utters the ominous line: "If all else fail myself have power to die." In the fourth act the action is sustained by the Friar's stratagem, and the hope held out by it that the catastrophe may yet be averted. The last act is concerned exclusively with the catastrophe, rendered certain by the two unhappy accidents which form the subjects of the first and second scenes.

Here then, in an early, but, by common consent, a great play, the five-part scheme is established beyond question. I believe that, were a similar test applied to the other plays, similar results would be obtained, to warrant the conclusion that, when Shakespeare's friends supplied in the First Folio the act-headings which had dropped out in the Quartos, they were not impudently interpolating, but honourably fulfilling their pledge to present the plays "cur'd and perfect of their limbes."

A NOTE ON CHAUCER'S STANZA

BY G. H. COWLING

CHAUCER's seven-line stanza riming *ab ab bcc*, which he used not only as a lyrical stanza, as in the ballades *Truth* and *Gentilesse*, but also, indeed chiefly, for narrative and description in *Troilus*, *The Parlement of Fowles*, and some of the *Canterbury Tales*, is described by Ten Brink * as "clearly tripartite, the first two parts of it (*pedes*) being equal to each other, but unequal to the third, the *cauda*." That is to say, Ten Brink divided the seven lines into the traditional musical divisions described by Dante in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Book II. ch. 10-13, as :—

two lines with rimes *ab* = *pes 1*,
two lines riming *ab* = *pes 2*,
three lines riming *bcc* = *cauda*.

He proceeds : "Chaucer often observes this tripartition, even in the logical structure of his argument, without pedantically binding himself to it. The second stanza of the *Compleynge to Pitee* may serve as an example :

" And whan that I by lengthe of certeyn yeres
Had ever in oon a tyme sought to speke,
To Pitee ran I, al bespreynt with teres,
To preyen hir on Crueltee me awreke;
But eer I might with any word outbreke,
Or tellen any of my peynes smerte,
I fonde hir deed, and buried in an herte."

For the sake of poetic tradition, Chaucer ought indeed to have written this stanza as Ten Brink thought he wrote it ; but an examination of his stanzas leads one to the conclusion that he frequently did not. It is doubtful whether Chaucer even regarded his stanza as a lyrical metre, for he never consistently observes the regular melodic divisions

* *The Language and Metre of Chaucer*, translated by M. Bentinck Smith (London, 1901), p. 255.

which a musical setting would have demanded. The stanza which Ten Brink used as an illustration seems to me to fall naturally into two parts rather than into three,—a quatrain followed by a tercet. And if the structure of Chaucer's stanzas be examined, it will, I think, be found that usually he made them bipartite. His stanzaic pause or *volta* bears the same relation to the rhythm of the stanza as the verse-pause or *cæsura* bears to that of the line.

Mr. Egerton Smith,* eager to confute Ten Brink, easily shows the error of the tripartite theory, and almost arrives at the conclusions which I shall enunciate in the following paragraphs, when he says: "Clearly, therefore, Chaucer, if he divided the stanza at all, did so at whatever point suited him best, and sometimes within a line instead of at the end; and there is no sufficient evidence that he regarded as essential any subdivision of the stanza."

I have examined all the seven-line stanzas which occur in the canonical poems of Chaucer, and my conclusions are as follows:—

(1) The Chaucerian stanza is normally, but not invariably, terminated by a full pause after the seventh line.

(2) The Chaucerian stanza ordinarily has a half-pause or *volta*, determinable not by punctuation, but by the sense. This half-pause is followed by an amplification, a re-statement, or by the consequences of, or a contrast to the preceding lines; and is recognisable by the fact that it is a break in the unity of the stanza, if not a break in narrative.

(3) There is no fixed place for this half-pause. Chaucer observed it wherever it best suited his purpose; but it will be found in about 90 per cent. of his stanzas. Usually it occurs at the end of a line. More rarely it is found in the middle of a line. The varied position of this half-pause indicates that the stanzas were not written to be sung.

(4) The commonest type of stanza is that based on what must have been the original type, described by Ten Brink as two *pedes* (ab, ab), and a *caude* (bcc), that is, a musical phrase repeated twice and ending in a half cadence, followed by an answering phrase of unequal length leading to a full cadence, as in Luther's hymn *Nun freut euch* (1529), commonly sung in England to the hymn "Great God, what do I see and hear?" This type of stanza consists of a quatrain followed by a tercet. I call it the 4 : 3 type, and about 40 per cent. of Chaucer's stanzas are of this type. The stanza

* *The Principles of English Metre* (Oxford, 1923), p. 244.

quoted by Ten Brink will serve as an example. If another is needed the second stanza of *The Clerk's Tale* will illustrate it :

A markis whylom lord was of that londe,
As were his worthy eldres him bifore ;
And obeisant and redy to his honde
Were alle his liges, bothe lasse and more. ||
Thus in delyt he liveth, and hath don yore,
Biloved and drad, thurgh favour of fortune,
Bothe of his lordes and of his commune.

(5) Other common types are, secondly, a tercet (aba) followed by a quatrain of two couplets (bb cc). I call this the 3 : 4 type. We might exemplify from the first stanza of *The Parlement of Fowles* :

The lyf so short, the craft so long to lerne,
Th' assay so hard, so sharp the conquering,
The dredful joye, that alwey slit so yerne, ||
All this mene I by love, that my feling
Astonyeth with his wonderful worching
So sore ywis, that when I on him thinke,
Nat wot I wel wher that I wake or winke.

About 20 per cent. of Chaucer's stanzas are of this type ; but the proportion rises in his later work to about 30 per cent. of the stanzas in a given poem. Thirdly, there is another common type—a quintet (ababb) followed by a couplet (cc). I call this the 5 : 2 type. As an example I take the first stanza of *The Prioress's Tale* :

Ther was in Asie, in a greet citee,
Amonges Cristen folk, a Jewerye,
Sustened by a lord of that contree
For foule usure and lucre of vilanye,
Hateful to Crist and to his compayne ; ||
And thurgh the strete men myghte ryde or wende,
For it was free, and open at either ende.

Slightly less than 20 per cent. of Chaucer's stanzas are of this type, and the percentage in each poem differs considerably.

(6) Irregular types are, fourthly, a couplet (ab) followed by a quintet (abbcc). This type, which I call the 2 : 5 type, is naturally ungraceful, and therefore rare. Here is an example from *The Prioress's Tale* :

I seye that in a wardrobe they him threwe
Where-as these Jewes purgen hir entraille. ||
O cursed folk of Herodes al newe,
What may your yvel entente yow availle ?
Mordre wol out, certein, it wol nat faille,
And namely ther th' onour of god shal sprede,
The blood out cryeth on your cursed dede.

Fifthly, the stanza with an interlinear half-pause. There is of course no fixed place for the pause. This example is from *The Man of Law's Tale* :

In sterres, many a winter ther-biforn,
Was writen the deeth of Ector, Achilles,
Of Pompey, Julius, er they were born ;
The stryf of Thebes ; and of Ercules,
Of Sampson, Turnus, and of Socrates
The deeth ; || but mennes wittes been so dulle,
That no wight can wel rede it atte fulle.

This type is also rare, for the half-pause usually occurs at the end of a line. Sixthly, the stanza with no half-pause. This type is very rare. The example is taken from *Troilus and Criseyde*, I. 10 :

Now fil it so, that in the toun ther was
Dwellinge a lord of greet auctoritee,
A greet devyn, that cleped was Calkas,
That in science so expert was, that he
Knew wel that Troye sholde destroyed be,
By answere of his god, that highte thus,
Daun Phebus or Apollo Delphicus.

There are also a few anomalous stanzas, such as 1 : 6, 6 : 1, and stanzas with two well-defined pauses.

To summarise these observations, the seven-line stanza was usually written by Chaucer with one half-pause or *volta*. Consequently, there are many structural types. The chief types are the 4 : 3 (abab, bcc), the 3 : 4 (aba, bbcc), the 5 : 2 (ababb, cc). Rare and irregular types are the 2 : 5 (ab, abbcc), the stanza with an interlinear volta, the stanza with no volta, the stanza with two well-defined voltas, and possibly rarer anomalous stanzas, all of which for statistical purposes I lump together as "irregular."

And now, what conclusions may we derive from these observations? I hesitate to proclaim the discovery of a new metrical test, because one must deny the absolute validity of numerical evidence in prosody. Changes of fashion in versification are made inconsistently and often unconsciously, and the habits of the poets are not, I believe, strictly conformable to mathematical laws. At best, statistics can only indicate a trend of development—a trend which may be diverted by all sorts of accidents of composition. So that the conclusions which I shall draw are made with hesitation on this account. I make them with even greater trepidity because I realize that these types of stanza are not invariably easily recognised, and

may possibly be differently described by different people. My conclusions are that in Chaucer's work in the seven-line stanzas two periods are recognisable, the first ranging from about 1372 to about 1380, the second from 1380 or 1381 to the period of *The Canterbury Tales*.

Let us first look at two early poems. It is generally held that the *Compleynt to Pitee* is an early poem, belonging either to the period of *The Deth of Blaunche* (1369), or more probably to the early period of Italian influence (1373-4). *The Clerk's Tale* too was dated as early as 1373 by Furnivall, after 1373 by Pollard, and between 1369 and 1379 by Lowes; we may therefore regard it as a comparatively early work. The numbers of types of stanza in these poems are according to my reckoning, as follows:—

	Stanzas.	5:2	4:3	3:4	Irreg.	Percentage of each type.			
<i>Compleynt to Pitee</i>	17	3	8	3	3	17.6	47	17.6	17.6
<i>Clerk's Tale</i>	160	26	75	31	28	16.2	46.9	19.3	17.5

There is a predominance of the traditional 4:3 type, and slightly less than 20 per cent. of types 5:2 and 3:4. The anomalous stanzas amount to less than 20 per cent. The figures indicate to my mind a similar habit of versification which implies composition in the same period.

Now let us look at a later poem. *The Parlement of Fowles* is generally (following Koch's brilliant theory) dated 1382. Its statistics are as follows:—

	Stanzas.	5:2	4:3	3:4	Irreg.	Percentage of each type.			
<i>Parlement of Fowles</i>	98	24	28	28	18	24.5	28.6	28.6	18.4

Here is apparently a great change in the character of the versification. The percentage of stanzas of the traditional 4:3 type is reduced from over 40 per cent. to 28 per cent., and the number of 4:3 stanzas and 3:4 stanzas is about equal. It would seem that Chaucer had passed from a style of versification in which the traditional 4:3 type predominated, to a new style in which the quatrain of two couplets, or the stanza with a final couplet, had greater prominence.

But these are comparatively short works. Is there a long poem which can give us a reasonable chance of seeing this transition in progress? Fortunately there is *Troilus and Criseyde*—though this has been usually dated after 1382 rather than before, chiefly on the strength of a probable allusion to the queen of Richard II. in Book I., l. 171:

Right as our firste lettre is now an A.

Here are the statistics for *Troilus and Criseyde*:

	Stanzas.	5:2	4:3	3:4	Irreg.	Percentage of each type.
<i>Troilus and Criseyde</i> , Bk. I.	156	26	75	20	35	16.6 48 13 22.4
" "	II.	251	48	101	48	54 19.1 40.2 19.1 21.5
" "	III.	260	59	120	45	36 22.7 46.1 17.3 14
" "	IV.	243	73	105	46	19 30 43.2 18.9 7.8

So far, the versification is not unlike that of the *Compleynt to Pitee* and *The Clerk's Tale*, but now let us look at the figures for Book V.:

	Stanzas.	5:2	4:3	3:4	Irreg.	Percentage of each type.
<i>Troilus and Criseyde</i> , Bk. V.	267	69	76	74	48	25.8 28.5 27.7 17.9

It will be seen that they are almost identical with those of *The Parlement of Fowles*:

	Stanzas.	5:2	4:3	3:4	Irreg.	Percentage of each type.
<i>Parlement of Fowles</i> . . .	98	24	28	28	18	24.5 28.6 28.6 18.4

And one is naturally tempted to conclude, firstly, that the last book of *Troilus and Criseyde* belongs to the same period as *The Parlement of Fowles* (1382), and secondly, that the first four books belong to an earlier period. If this be so, we must regard

Right as our firste lettre is now an A

as an after-thought added in revision, if indeed it be definitely an allusion to Anne of Bohemia.

If it be accepted that there is this change from an earlier type of versification characterised by a preponderance of 4:3 stanzas to a later and freer type characterised by a decrease in the number of 4:3 stanzas and an increase in the number of 3:4 stanzas, it will follow (if Koch's theory of date for *The Parlement of Fowles* be correct) that the period of change must have been anterior to 1382. We must then regard as early the following works, which must have been written before the second Italian journey of May 1378–February 1379. I call them Group A. And the works which approximate to the versification of *The Parlement of Fowles* must be later. I call the latter Group B.

GROUP A.

Poem.	Total.	Stanzas.			Irreg.	Percentage of each type.		
		5:2	4:3	3:4		5:2	4:3	3:4
<i>Man of Law's Tale</i> , I., II. .	106	15	40	24	27	14.1	37.7	22.6 25.4
<i>Clerk's Tale</i>	160	26	75	31	28	16.2	46.9	19.3 17.5
<i>Compleynt to Pitee</i>	17	3	8	3	3	17.6	47	17.6 17.6
<i>Compleynt of Anelida</i>	30	7	12	8	3	23.3	40	26.6 10
<i>Troilus and Criseyde</i> , I. .	156	26	75	20	35	16.6	48	13 22.4
" " II. .	251	48	101	48	54	19.1	40.2	19.1 21.5
" " III. .	260	59	120	45	36	22.7	46.1	17.3 14
" " IV. .	243	73	105	46	19	30	43.2	18.9 7.8

GROUP B.

This group would appear to be later, probably about 1380 and after.

Poem.	Total.	Stanzas.				Percentage of each type.			
		5:2	4:3	3:4	Irreg.	5:2	4:3	3:4	Irreg.
<i>Troilus and Criseyde</i> , V.	267	69	76	74	48	25.8	28.5	27.7	17.9
<i>Parlement of Fowles</i>	98	24	28	28	18	24.5	28.6	28.6	18.4
<i>Proem to Complaynt of Mars</i>	22	6	6	6	4	27.2	27.2	27.2	18.2
<i>Life of St. Cecile</i>	79	15	24	24	16	18.9	30.4	30.4	20.2
<i>Priores's Tale</i>	34	5	9	9	11	14.7	26.5	26.5	32.3
<i>Man of Law's Tale</i> , III.	41	3	15	14	9	7.3	36.6	34.1	21.9

Allowing for differences of narrative style, the poems of Group B appear to be later than those of Group A. I am doubtful about *The Man of Law's Tale*. I should regard it as an early work, possibly intended as a compliment to Costanza of Castile, whom John of Gaunt married in 1371, and written in 1372, were it not for the marked discrepancy between the style of Parts I. and II., and that of Part III. Possibly it was begun early, left unfinished, and completed for *The Canterbury Tales*. The chief result of this investigation is that it would seem probable that *Troilus and Criseyde* was begun after Chaucer's first Italian journey of December 1372 to May 1373, and was finished only after the second Italian journey of May 1378 to February 1379. This would agree with Lydgate's statement in the Prologue of *The Fall of Princes* (l. 1283) that Chaucer wrote it in his youth. If my conclusions are correct, the theory that Italian influence commenced only after Chaucer's second visit to Italy would seem untenable.

SIR SIDNEY LEE

(Born, 5 December, 1859—Died, 3 March, 1926)

A SHORT SURVEY OF HIS LITERARY WORK

AT the request of the Editor of this *Review* I am attempting a short survey of Sir Sidney Lee's literary work. As this survey is intended to be of a memorial nature, on a similar plane to the more personal reminiscences which I have written for the English Association *Bulletin* (April, 1926), I am not here aiming at a critical estimate of Lee's work or dealing with the wider, in part debateable, issues which some of it involves. But he loomed so large in the public eye as the Editor for nearly thirty years of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and as the biographer of Queen Victoria and King Edward VII., that it may be helpful to recall his long and comprehensive labours in fields more strictly within the domain of *The Review of English Studies*.

His first publications, so far as I am aware, were two essays in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, written while he was a Balliol undergraduate. "The Original of Shylock," which appeared in February, 1880, found a prototype of Shakespeare's Jew in Roderigo Lopez, the Jewish physician of Queen Elizabeth who was hanged at Tyburn on a charge of treason in June, 1594. "A New Study of *Love's Labour's Lost*" (October, 1880) similarly identified a number of the chief characters in the comedy with contemporary personages. Thus Lee's first venture in Shakespearian investigation was characteristically from a concrete, historical standpoint. Another possible Shakespearian source, though now in the field of romance, attracted him soon afterwards in Lord Berners's *The Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeux*, wherein Oberon figures, which he edited for the Early English Text Society in four parts (1882-4 and 1887). Before the completion of this E.E.T.S. publication he had produced two volumes of interest for students of English social history, *Strafford-on-Avon* (1885), an illustrated account of the town from the earliest

times to the death of Shakespeare, and an edition of *The Autobiography of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (1886), with introduction, notes, and a continuation covering the latter period of Lord Herbert's life. Both of these works were republished in later editions.

Meanwhile Lee had accepted Leslie Stephen's invitation to become assistant editor of *The Dictionary of National Biography*; in 1890 he was appointed joint, and in 1891, sole editor, and was thus entirely responsible for volumes 27-66. He also supervised the corrected reissue of the *Dictionary* in twenty-two volumes on thinner paper, and the epitome now known as the *Concise D.N.B.*

Of the many Elizabethan biographies which he contributed to the *Dictionary* the most important was that of Shakespeare in the 51st volume in 1897. This formed the basis of his *Life of William Shakespeare*, published in the following year. The book, it is interesting to recall, was awarded a prize of £50 which had recently been instituted by the *Academy* newspaper. It went through six editions in its original form, and was rewritten and expanded from 479 to 776 pages in 1915, in anticipation of the Shakespeare Tercentenary of 1916. When this new version reached a third edition in 1922, Lee added a fresh preface giving details of the most recent developments in Shakespearian research.

He had turned from Shakespearian biography to bibliography in 1902, when he edited for the Clarendon Press a Facsimile of the First Folio which went out of print on publication. A pendant to this in the same year was "A Census of Extant Copies of the Folio," supplemented in 1906 by "Notes and Additions," to which may be added his Shakespeare Association lecture "Survey of First Folios," included in *Studies in the First Folio* (1924). Facsimiles of the poems and of *Pericles* with bibliographies were published in 1905.

The plan of another Oxford publication, *Shakespeare's England* (1916), was drawn up by him, and he arranged for most of the contributions, but afterwards found it necessary to leave the work in other hands, though Volume II. contains a short section by him on "Bearbaiting, Bullbaiting and Cockfighting."

Another joint production to which he contributed was the Caxton edition of Shakespeare (1910), in twenty volumes, for which he wrote the General Introduction, the introductions to the individual plays being by different pens. In *Shakespeare and the Modern Stage* (1906) he collected a series of eleven papers which he had

written between 1890 and 1905, and in which he sought to "survey Shakespearian drama in relation to modern life, and to illustrate its living force in current affairs." In 1909 he edited in the Shakespeare Classics series *The Chronicle History of King Leir*, the original of *King Lear*.

He was also busily engaged in these earlier years of the present century on Elizabethan work outside of the purely Shakespearian sphere. In 1904 appeared a volume of lectures, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, containing biographical sketches of More, Sidney, Raleigh, Spenser, and Bacon, in addition to Shakespeare. Lee had always an affection for this book, with its popular appeal, and republished it in later years. In 1904 also he re-edited and re-arranged, with an introduction, the *English Sonnets* edited by Edward Arber in 1877-90. In this introduction Lee showed that the debt of English sonnet writers to foreign models was more extensive than had been realised. He illustrated this thesis on a wider scale in *The French Renaissance in England: An Account of the Literary Relations of England and France in the Sixteenth Century* (1910). He wished this book to be judged "as a tentative contribution to the comparative study of literature," and he followed similar lines in his British Academy lecture *Shakespeare and the Italian Renaissance* (1915). It is in this group of his writings that Lee made his chief contribution to literary history and criticism, as apart from biography and bibliography. And in his Presidential address to the Modern Language (now the Modern Humanities) Research Association, in October, 1918 (printed 1919), he claimed that the "comparative study of literatures" is "capable of vast expansion and well-nigh infinite development."

Other addresses, afterwards issued in pamphlet form, were his Cambridge Leslie Stephen lecture, *The Principles of Biography* (1911); his inaugural lecture at East London College (1913), *The Place of English Literature in the Modern University*; and his Presidential Address to the English Association (1917), *The Perspective of Biography*. In another English Association pamphlet, *The Impersonal Aspect of Shakespeare's Art* (1909), he strongly emphasised a point of view which led to a rejoinder from Edward Dowden in *The Fortnightly Review*. He also compiled for the Association a helpful guide in *A Shakespeare Reference Library* (1910), revised and enlarged by Sir Edmund Chambers in 1925. To the Association's annual, *The Year's Work in English Studies*,

of which he was the first editor, he contributed for three years (1921-3) the sections on Shakespeare, which are of special interest as containing his last pronouncements on some debateable questions.

Others of his occasional publications are *Chapman's "Amorous Zodiacke"* (*Modern Philology*, 1905), *Ovid and Shakespeare's Sonnets* (*Quarterly Review*, April, 1909), an address on the unveiling of the Shakespeare Memorial in Southwark Cathedral, November 4, 1912, addresses as Chairman of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, and the article in *The Times* (April 10, 1922) on a copy of the Second Folio, which had been expurgated in Spain. Since his death, *A History of Sadler's Wells Theatre*, written by him in aid of the Sadler's Wells fund, has appeared in *The London Mercury* (May, 1926). It is to be hoped that a complete bibliography will be made of Lee's writings, and that a selection of his pamphlets, essays, and addresses will appear in collected form.

The *Life of Queen Victoria* (1902) and *King Edward VII., A Biography*, Vol. I. (1925), important as they are in the fields of biography and history, fall outside the scope of this short survey of Lee's distinctively literary and critical work. This was pursued, as this sketch may have helped to indicate anew, with unflagging ardour and industry for a period of nearly half a century. During that period new methods and tendencies have arisen with some of which he was not in full sympathy, and of which account will have to be taken in the final estimate of his achievement. I do not here attempt to forecast this, but will merely state my confidence that work so virile, single-minded, and large of purpose as that of Sidney Lee will always remain a conspicuous landmark in the history of Elizabethan scholarship.

F. S. BOAS.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

THE CANON OF SWIFT: A LATE ADDITION

ON July 11, 1708, at Oudenarde, the French, under Vendôme, utterly defeated, fell back from the field leaving thousands of prisoners in the hands of the allies; and Marlborough could write to inform Godolphin that he had taken "ninety-five colours and standards." To all appearances the road lay open into the centre of France; and Englishmen, especially if they happened to be Whigs, gave themselves over to celebrating another astounding triumph by their great general. Broadside ballads, which could be sung to almost any tune and sold for a penny, appealed at that time to the popular taste, and every notable turn of events, military, political or social, brought its usual crop. If many of these ballads, written by hack versifiers, are of no literary interest or importance, they are valuable to the historian and student of social manners; and, on the other hand, nearly all the foremost men-of-letters in this period occasionally flung off a penny broadside. Addison's *Campaign* was, after all, only a poem in the same character raised to a higher order and appealing to a different public. But no one at the time possessed so quick and native a faculty for reaching the man in the street as Swift, with the exception of Defoe, who stands in a place by himself, hardly professing to address himself to any but the great bulk of the lower middle class.

At the time of the battle of Oudenarde, Swift was in London, where he had been since November, 1707,* soliciting on behalf of the Irish clergy a remission of the firstfruits and tenths, a concession already granted to the English clergy. As an emissary on behalf of Archbishop King and the Irish Church, empowered in an official character to approach the ministry, he held for the first time in his life (if we disregard a brief mission to King William as Temple's secretary) a position of importance and consequence. It is of interest to note that, as a result of his new concern in the affairs

* On this visit Swift was in England from November, 1707, to March, 1709.

of life, and of the abundant leisure he enjoyed while waiting upon the pleasure of elusive ministers, we reach the beginning of Swift's activity as a pamphleteer. From 1708 to 1714, when he retired to Ireland, each year saw the publication of several pieces from his hand. Whereas from 1704, when *A Tale of a Tub* appeared, there is a gap of some four years with nothing to show. Several pieces written within this interval were later included in the *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1711), but in the years named nothing new by Swift appeared in print, nor did he, as Hawkesworth rightly observes, "write any political pamphlet from the year 1701 to the year 1708." *

In 1708, however, three important politico-religious pamphlets were written by Swift—*The Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, *An Argument to Prove that the Abolishing of Christianity in England, May . . . be Attended with some Inconveniences*, and *A Letter . . . Concerning the Sacramental Test*. Of these the last-named was published in the following year; no separate publication of the first two has been traced before their appearance in the *Miscellanies* of 1711. Apart from these more serious essays, Swift filled some of his idle hours in 1708 with those *jeux d'esprit* in which he exposed the almanack-makers, predicted and established the death of Partridge, one of their number, and entertained the town with a good joke. One of these flings, *An Elegy on Mr. Patridge, the Almanack-maker*, was the first of his pieces to appear in the form of a broadside. It was shortly followed by a second, *Jack Frenchman's Lamentation*, the subject of this paper.

This ballad was not reprinted in the canon of Swift's accepted *Works*, gradually expanded by Faulkner, Hawkesworth, Sheridan, Nichols and other eighteenth-century editors. It was first included in the *Works* by Scott in his edition of 1814, where (x. 435) it is introduced by the note: "This ballad upon the battle of Oudenarde is given from a hawker's copy, bound up with various other broadside songs and poems, known to have been written by Swift. It is printed for Morphew, in 1708. As Swift was then in London, and intimate with several of the ministers, he seems likely to have celebrated this great public success in one of those popular ditties which he composed with such felicity. The song was very popular and the tune is often referred to as that of 'Ye Commons and Peers.' (I.e. the opening words of Swift's ballad.)

* *An Account of the Life of Dr. Swift*, 4th ed., p. 10, prefixed to his edition of the *Works*, 1755.

That it is by Swift there can scarcely be a doubt. Apart from any question of style, which will be discussed later, the broadside was published by the printer to whom Swift would most naturally have handed it at this time. It is further to be remembered that at this early stage his relationship with printers and booksellers would be comparatively limited. Before this time, disregarding his editorial prefaces to Temple's letters and miscellanies, Swift had only appeared in print as an author on four occasions. His *Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions* (1701) and *A Tale of a Tub* (1704) were published by John Nutt, the *Predictions for the Year 1708*, by John Morphew, and *An Elegy on Mr. Patrige* was without a printer's name. Now, Morphew appears to have set up about 1706 in Nutt's old premises near Stationers' Hall, and Nutt himself, by 1708, or before, seems to have abandoned bookselling for printing.* It would be natural, therefore, for Swift to turn, as he did, to Morphew, when, after a lapse of four years, he came forward with a trifle for publication. Thus began a connection which lasted for several years; until, in fact, Swift left England in 1714 upon the downfall of Harley and St. John. It was about this time that Morphew last acted for Swift by publishing the provocative *Publick Spirit of the Whigs*, for which he was summoned before the Lord Chief Justice.

The *Predictions for the Year 1708* caught the public sense of humour. At least five further editions, English or Irish, by publishers other than Morphew, appeared in the same year. Not only, therefore, is it likely that Swift would have given to Morphew anything that he wrote for publication at this time, but Morphew, on his part, would have been delighted to take anything coming from his pen. But broadsides and single sheets have a much shorter chance of life than a stitched pamphlet or a bound volume. If, as is not improbable, Morphew was also responsible for the publication of *An Elegy on Mr. Patrige*, no copy bearing his name seems to have survived. The only two editions of 1708 I have seen are: (a) a hideously ugly and gloomy affair printed in London on one side of a half-sheet, the text surrounded by a heavy mourning border and surmounted by a device representing Death, skeletons armed with darts, cross-bones, hour-glasses, etc.; and (b) another half-sheet printed in Edinburgh. I have not, so far, in any library, come upon broadside copies of *Jack Frenchman's Lamentation*, save the

* See Plomer, *Dict. of Printers and Booksellers*, 1668-1725, pp. 210, 222.

three editions in the British Museum,* and not one of these shows any date, place, or printer's name. Scott, however, mentions that the copy from which he took his text was "printed for John Morphew, in 1708"; and some little time ago I fortunately acquired a copy upon which appeared at the foot of the page the words: "LONDON: Printed, and are to be Sold by John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall. 1708." This, by all signs, is a copy of the original edition; and its provenance favours the likelihood of authorship by Swift. The edition bearing a bookseller's name is most likely to be the first. After its first appearance a racy ballad, celebrating the victory of Oudenarde, would naturally prove popular, and be seized upon by other printers and booksellers.

Why was it not reprinted with the other poems collected in the *Miscellanies* of 1711? The obvious answer is that Swift regarded it as no more than a ditty conceded to an outburst of popular enthusiasm. The subject was not one to appeal to him. In addition, by 1711 he was out of sympathy with the Whig party, he was actively engaged in supporting the Tory administration with his pen, and in no humour to celebrate the praises of a great Whig general who was continuing a war unpopular with the party which he served. It is true that in the *Journal to Stella*, February 28, 1710-11, we read: "Some bookseller has raked up everything I writ, and published it t'other day in one volume; but I know nothing of it, 'twas without my knowledge or consent; it makes a four-shilling book, and is called *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*. Tooke pretends to know nothing of it, but I doubt he is at the bottom." This declaration need not be taken seriously. It is of a piece with Swift's lifelong parade of dissociating himself from his publications and publishers. The *Miscellanies* did not contain everything he had so far written; and he had long known that the scheme of printing the volume was afoot. On October 17, 1710, he writes in the *Journal*, "Tooke is going on with the *Miscellany*." It was, in fact, published by Morphew, whom Swift could not, as if unknown to him, fairly describe as "some bookseller." And frequent references to the *Miscellanies* in later pages of the *Journal* show that he was interested in the contents and success of the book. There can be little doubt that he was in some degree responsible for the pieces contained within or excluded from its covers.

* The Bodleian contains another edition of the same year, not a broadside: *The Battel of Audenard. A Poem . . . Also A New Copy of Verses of Jack Frenchman's Lamentation: London, 1708.*

The broadside edition of the ballad published by Morphew has every appearance of being the original issue. The title is printed as a dropped heading at the top of the page, the actual name of the piece in black-letter: "Jack Frenchman's Lamentation./ An Excellent New Song,/ *To the Tune of I'll tell thee Dick, &c.*" The text of thirteen stanzas is set in two columns on one side of the half-sheet. A rule is drawn below the text; and beneath appears Morphew's imprint. One B.M. copy, 12350, m. 18 (3), bound in a volume containing broadsides and sheets printed at Edinburgh, closely follows this setting, but the type is different, and there is no indication of place, date, or printer's name. Another B.M. copy, 1876, f. 1 (40), follows a common method of making a popular appeal by using an old woodcut, in this instance representing eight soldiers on the march, which had done duty for years in other hands and on other broadside sheets. The third B.M. copy, C. 40. m. 10 (103),* one of the Bagford collection, has, beneath the title, an illustration depicting a battle watched by three men from the top of a church-tower. The first of three flying horsemen in the foreground is represented as crying, "This is worse than Scotland." The block must have been cut to illustrate this or some other account of Oudenarde, for the incident shown in the foreground was of common report and is alluded to in the ballad. The Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the Chevalier de St. George are said to have watched the battle from a church-tower, and to have fled when the action turned against the French. On the whole, therefore, allowing for some delay in the preparation of the block, this is not likely to have been the first of the editions to find its way into the booksellers' shops.

The last two copies named have fourteen stanzas instead of thirteen. The additional stanza, the seventh, may be quoted in conjunction with that preceding and that following it:

Not so did behave
Young *Hannover* Brave
In this Bloody Field I assure ye :
When his War-Horse was shot
He valu'd it not,
But fought it on Foot like a Fury.

* In this copy the title runs: "Jack Frenchman's Defeat: / Being an excellent New Song, to a Pleasant Tune, / called, *There Was a Fair Maid in the North-Country, / Came Tripping over the Plain, &c.*"

While Death flew about
Aloud he called out :
Hoh ! You Chevalier of St. George,
If you'll neither stand,
By Sea nor by Land
Pretender, that Title you Forge.

Full firmly he stood,
As became his high Blood,
Which runs in his Veins so blew ;
For this Gallant Young Man
Being a-Kin to QUEEN ANNE,
Did as (were she a Man) she would do.

The clumsy lines of the halting seventh stanza differentiate it from the rest of the ballad. They are clearly an interpolation. The words are the taunt of a pursuer, whereas in the succeeding stanza we are told of "Young Hannover" that "Full firmly he stood." In addition, the earlier part of the ballad hints that the Pretender took no part in the battle, contenting himself with watching it from a safe distance.

Internal evidence, drawn from style and phraseology, so far as such a test can be with any value applied to a piece of this character and brevity, supports the attribution of this ballad to Swift. If his versification be compared with that of his chief contemporaries, Pope, Prior and Gay, his limitations are immediately plain. The conscious art, the range of imagination and expression of Pope are not his, nor the poetry of Prior and Gay. But in the terse and vigorous ordering of rhyme and metre to the apt statement of familiar and common thought or description his talent was unequalled. And *Jack Frenchman's Lamentation* has all his natural ease and terseness. It is not a hack ballad by a commonplace scribbler. Ingenious and far-fetched rhyme was, further, one of Swift's peculiar gifts. The ballad has several examples of his deftness at this trick—"Dender—Pretender"; "assure ye—Fury"; "repay 'em—Te Deum"; "tell ye—Belly." As Swift adopted a variety of metres for his broadside ballads, no special argument can be deduced from the form. But it may be noticed that the same metrical and rhyming stanza was used by him in the ballad beginning, "A wonderful Age," and in *Will Wood's Petition*.

Evidence from the general style and character of the ballad points to Swift. He was in London with time hanging heavily on his hands, and Oudenarde would provide him with an opportunity for writing a popular song in celebration of the victory. His

alienation from the Whigs, apart from the ephemeral appeal of the piece, explains the exclusion of *Jack Frenchman's Lamentation* from all gatherings of verse made in his lifetime. And, finally, the existence of a copy (and possibly of copies) bearing Morphew's name weights the evidence strongly in favour of Swift.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

MARVELL'S MANIBAN

IN every edition of Marvell's poetry, from the first (posthumous) one of 1681, there has been included a piece of Latin verse whose title sufficiently expresses the contents : " *Cuidam qui legendo scripturam descriptis formam, sapientiam sortemque authoris. Illustrissimo viro Domino Lanceloto Josepho de Maniban, grammatomanti.*" In almost every one of the poet's biographies the " grammatomantist " is duly mentioned. Nevertheless no serious attempt seems to have yet been made to identify him, though conjecture posing as fact has been busy building up his legend.

The first writer to speak of Marvell in conjunction with Maniban, *à propos* of graphology and without naming the latter, was Ambrose Philips in No. 253 of the *Freethinker* (August 22, 1720) :

Not many years since there was an Abbot in France who was famous for entering into the prevailing qualities and dispositions of persons he never saw, as well as for prognosticating their good or ill fortune from the bare inspection of their handwriting though in a language unknown to him. A gentleman, who travelled when this Abbot was in great reputation for his skill, told me : that he had tried him with a couple of English letters from two of his acquaintance ; and that this diviner's characters and predictions of them proved very just. Andr. Marvell who was likewise in France much about the same time, was so pleased with the novelty and singularity of this art, that he writ a Latin copy of verse to the professor of it ; which is printed in the posthumous collection of his poems.

On this rather flimsy authority, Maniban has been in holy orders for every one of Marvell's biographers ever since, though the poem makes no allusion to his clerical quality ; and the poet has been repeatedly stated to have composed his verse in France. Cooke, in the Preface to his (the second) edition of Marvell's poetry (issued in 1726), quotes Philips (p. 6). Thompson, Marvell's third editor (1776), groundlessly upbraids Cooke with having dreamt the

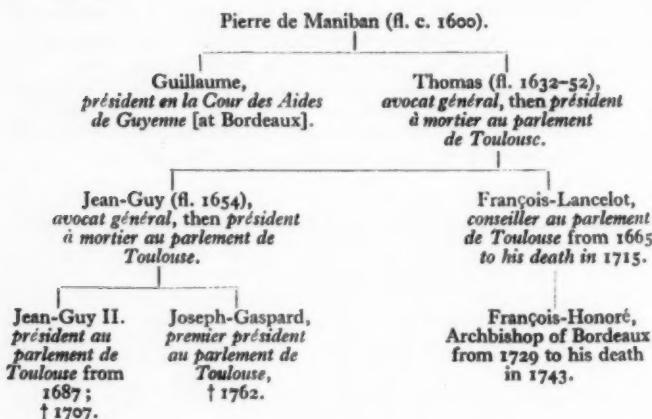
reference to Maniban in the *Freethinker*, and gives his own version of the episode in flowery English set off with fanciful French (vol. iii. p. 443) :

We hear little more of Mr. Marvell, either in Italy or in France ; and the small guides that we have to steer and follow him by, are his own poetical stars. When he arrived in Paris, he heard much talk of one Lancelot Joseph de Maniban, an abbot of a whimsical character who pretended to enter into the qualities of those he had never seen, and to prognosticate their good or evil fortune by their handwriting. This romantick *etourdie* [sic] was severely handled by Mr. Marvell, in a smart poem addressed to this ridiculous prognosticator, *Illustrissimo Viro Domino Lanceloto Josepho de Maniban, Grammatomanti*. From this circumstance in France, we hear no more of Mr. Marvell until 1653, a space of twelve years. . . .

Though Thompson was possessed of MSS. which have since disappeared, his evidence is not worth much. While discrediting Cooke he probably takes all his information from him, including the "abbotship." For the word "France" he substitutes "Paris" as a matter of course. Misdating Marvell's grand tour, which seems to have covered the years 1642-6, he places the "meeting" of Marvell and Maniban in or before 1641. Yet later biography has been content to reproduce Thompson's narrative and accept his shrewd guess, worthy of an enlightened whig in George III.'s early reign, that the poet was laughing in his sleeve at the French faddist, while pretending to praise him.

Brushing aside all this pleasant fiction, the first point to clear is whether Maniban was a surname or an abbey. Pierre de Bourdeilles will be unknown to many who have heard of, and perhaps even read, the quite unclerical works of [*l'Abbé de*] Brantôme. In this case the French title corresponds exactly to the English "abbot." But the modern practice of prefixing it to a surname had already been started, as when the author of the *Comte de Gébalis* was called "*l'abbé de Villars*" ; in this case the word merely corresponds to the English "Father" before the surname of a Roman Catholic priest, and *de*, when it occurs, is the nobiliary particle, as it would be after *Monsieur*. Since I have discovered no abbey of Maniban in the French books of reference, and since there existed in the seventeenth century a family of Maniban, I adopt the hypothesis that the "grammatomantist," if he was a clergyman at all, held no benefice and was known by his surname.

The *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, compiled by La Chesnaye-Desbois and revised by Badier (third edition, 1863 *sqq.*), informs us that the Manibans were sprung from the county of Armagnac, then a semi-independent part of Gascony. The following genealogical table will conveniently sum up the information provided by the *Dictionnaire*:



The family became extinct in the male line on the death of Joseph-Gaspard, who had been created first Marquess of Maniban.

From this table it seems to appear that, though one member of the family was christened Joseph and another Lancelot (the latter not a very common Christian name), yet none answered to both names at the same time. But the list in the *Dictionnaire* is certainly incomplete. It omits, for one, a Jean de Maniban, who was *président au parlement de Toulouse* from 1613 to 1640,* and must have been a cousin, if not a brother, to Guillaume and Thomas.

Anyhow, it looks likely that the addressee of Marvell's Latin verse belonged to that family and was a near relation, possibly also a godfather, to François-Lancelot and Joseph-Gaspard. Having come so near Lancelot-Joseph de Maniban, are we doomed never to find him? So far researches made in France have yielded

* I owe this piece of information to Doctor Paul Dottin, lecturer in the University of Toulouse. See also Vicomte Henri de Bastard d'Estang, *La noblesse d'Armagnac en 1789* (1862), from which it appears that François-Honoré had at least one brother, whose daughter, being her cousin the marquess's heir, carried the estate and title into the family of Campistron.

nothing.* Yet I think reasonable conjecture may here piece out the facts to some extent.

Marvell's favourite nephew, William Popple, settled at Bordeaux as a wine-merchant not later than the beginning of 1670,† and remained there until long after his uncle's death in 1678. He was a man of cultured tastes, interested in philosophy and divinity, as we learn from his *Rational Catechism* (1687), and his translation of Locke's *Epistola de tolerantia* (1689) and, in spite of his semi-deistic rationalism, had a weak spot for occultism. Witness his hand set down (together with Marvell's) to the two cures wrought by Great-racks, "the stroker," on April 10, 1666.‡ Witness also this Latin scrap from Marvell's letter to him of July 17, 1676 : §

Cave omnino ne vel minimum offendam vel abbatem vel uxorem tuam plurimi enim facio utriusque erga me affectum et meam apud illos existimationem : liber autem iste non est pfect* in suo genere sed strictum et desultorius agit; sed neque est mutilis [sic] apices rerum tangit si autem pfecti* aliqui desideras oportet ipsum Cornelium Agrippam de vanitate scientiarum consulere et præcipuè Picum Mirandulanum contra Astrologos qui tamen mortu* est anno ab illis p'finito.

The English sentence that follows next, whether related or not to the Latin, is even more cryptic :

I doe not pceive y^e foole hath any harme, nor y^t although they talk of it they will or can answer him according to his folly.

* The French works on graphology (Crépieux-Jamin, *L'écriture et le caractère*, 3rd edition, 1895; Louis Deschamps, *La philosophie de l'écriture*, with a general bibliography of the subject, 1892) are dumb on Maniban. The *Bibliothèque nationale* possesses no book published under his name. A query I inserted in *L'intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux* (November 10, 1924) has remained unanswered to this day. Neither Professor René Galland, of the University of Bordeaux, nor Doctor Dottin has found Lancelot-Joseph de Maniban in the libraries and archives of their respective cities, in spite of their kind exertions which I gratefully acknowledge here.

† He seems to have been in England still on March 30, 1669, when Marvell mentioned him in a short note to Mr. John Hill (Trinity House Papers, Hull). But when Marvell wrote to his nephew the first of the letters published by Cooke, dated March 21, 1670 [1669-70], Popple had already been at Bordeaux some time. He seems to have come home on a visit (or at least to have intended doing so) in 1674. See Marvell's letter to Edmund Popple [William's father] of April 26 : "I shall chuse to stay [in London] and come down [to Hull] with Will who is before this at Paris."

‡ See *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VI, vol. ix, p. 61 (1884).

§ Grosart has made here one of his usual blunders, printing in three pieces (Nos. 264-5-6) what is really one letter, as Mr. H. M. Margoliouth, who is preparing a new edition of Marvell's poetry and correspondence for the Clarendon Press, kindly informs me. Here as in the other quotations from Marvell, I have to thank Mr. Margoliouth for correcting my text from his proofs.

Now we have seen that there was one branch of the Maniban family which settled at Bordeaux early in the seventeenth century. Of Guillaume's progeny, if he had any, we indeed know nothing; but is it not likely that one of his descendants, whether an *abbé* or not, dabbled in graphology and became acquainted with William Popple during the latter's residence in the south-western seaport? The Englishman showed the Frenchman a letter from Marvell, then sent the writer his "character" and horoscope (since Maniban mixed graphology with astrology). In answer came from England the Latin verse,* which expressly states that when the "grammatomantist" delivered his opinion on Marvell's handwriting he knew him no more than he knew English, and describes very much the sort of letter that the member for Hull would send his nephew abroad (ll. 9-16) :

Nil praeter solitum sapiebat Epistola nostra,
Exemplumque mea Simplicitatis erat.
Fabula jucundus qualis delectat Amicos ;
Urbe, lepore, novis, carmine, tota scatens.
Hic tamen interpres, quo non securior alter
(Non res, non voces, non ego notus ei)
Rimatur fibras notularum cautus Aruspex,
Scripturæque inhians consulti exta meæ.

Although this text does not exclude the possibility of a later "meeting" of Marvell and Maniban, it shows the hypothesis of Ambrose Philips, Cooke and Thompson, to be unnecessary and probably gratuitous. Instead of 1642-6, the approximate date of the poem should then be 1670-8. There is one more argument in favour of the later time.

Though graphology may be said to begin with Camillo Baldo's *Trattato come di una littera missiva si cognosciamo la natura et qualitá dello scrittore*, published in 1622, the new science does not seem to have spread very rapidly outside Italy. The tractate was translated into Latin only in 1664. But the real craze for graphology in Paris was started still later by an Italian adventurer, Primi Visconti,† who

* That Marvell went on writing Latin verse almost to the end, his *Sceau de Scoto-Britannus* (not earlier than January 24, 1676-7) sufficiently proves.

† See Primi Visconti. *Mémoires sur la cour de Louis XIV.*, traduits de l'italien et publiés avec une introduction, des appendices et des notes par Jean Lemoine (Paris, Calmann-Lévy éditeur). Primi was born in 1648, arrived at the French Court in 1673, and died in 1713. I owe my acquaintance with this book to the kindness of the Abbé Langlois, the librarian of the *Institut catholique*, in Paris, who directed me to it.

did not attempt that sort of divination before the year 1674. His own narrative of it may be worth quoting here :

Monsieur d'Hacqueville [an *abbé*, and a friend of Madame de Sévigné's] telling how he had seen an Italian bishop casting a person's nativity from his handwriting, I jestingly pretended I could do as much. The *présidente* [d'Onsembrey] held out a letter, which I stated to have been written by a man inured to war, unquiet, ambitious, who could not rest contented with his fortune ; that man had an intrigue with a widow, and wore a wound in his head. The *présidente* informed me that the letter was from marquess d'Arcy, and that I had exactly hit the writer's temper and condition. . . . But concerning the wound in the head, she was denying its existence, when a girl entered the room, bringing letters where we read that d'Arcy had just been wounded in the head by a musket-shot before Besançon. Then she cried out : " Oh ! sir, you are a magician ! " *

After such a brilliant start it was difficult for Primi to stop. He was employed by the *Grande Mademoiselle*, whom he knew how to please,† and then summoned by the *Grand Roy* himself, to whom, out of reverential awe, if we are to believe him, he owned up that his art was mere guessing.‡ Lewis good-naturedly kept the secret of this confession, and Primi was soon after presented to the Queen.§ Later on he was shown one of the King's letters, and stated it

to have been written by an old gossip who would make his fortune with his pen. The remark was repeated to the King, and everybody stood amazed when H.M. said the letter had been forged by one Rose, a secretary to his cabinet, who imitated his handwriting.||

No wonder that after this feat " from every province letters were addressed " to Primi, and that " somebody told him an audience was more difficult to be had from him than from Monsieur Colbert." ¶

Even if we discount this self-glorifying (or self-exposing) very largely, enough remains to show the vogue at the French court of the new science of graphology in the last years of Marvell's life. The first printed testimony of a similar interest among the reading public came out just after the poet's death. *L'extraordinaire du Mercure*, a quarterly supplement to the better-known *Mercure galant*, for October 1678 contains (pp. 185-198) an anonymous " *Lettre à*

* Pp. 50-1. See also pp. 61-3.
† P. 73.
|| P. 82.

† Pp. 71-2.
‡ P. 77.
|| P. 84.

Madame de M. . . . sur les indices qu'on peut tirer de la manière dont chacun forme son écriture," in which letter this sentence occurs : " Les mains suivent naturellement le mouvement du cœur qui en est le principe." Confer Marvell's (l. 8)

Ignaramque manum spiritus intus agit.

Perhaps it will amuse some to hear that, according to the author of the letter to Madame de M. . . ., a large hand, not thick, and in which the characters are well tied to one another, speaks conceit, luxuriousness, and ambition. Such a hand, unless I read it wrong, was Marvell's. But Maniban's judgment, however arrived at, seems to have been more favourable and more just.

I now feel warranted to surmise that Popple's acquaintance set up as a " grammatomantist " in Bordeaux when the fashion ran high in Paris, *i.e.* in 1674 or just a little later. Is it possible to go one step further, and identify him with the *abbas* of the above-quoted letter from Marvell to his nephew, dated July 17, 1676 ? The difficulty is evident : " utriusque erga me affectum et meam apud illos existimationem " seems to contradict the " non ego notus ei " of the poem. Yet might not there be affection and esteem between two men who had never met ? And is two years (1674-1676) too short a time for such feelings to bud forth when nursed by a third party who was the friend of the one and the nephew of the other ? Besides, the words " affectum " and " existimationem " refer not only to the *abbas* but to Marvell's niece-in-law, whom he was even more careful not to " offend," no doubt, than the reverend gentleman. Anyhow, the letter proves that Marvell and Popple, no poperymen as they were, could get on very well with a popish priest. I therefore incline to accept Ambrose Philips's otherwise inaccurate and even erroneous testimony so far as to say that Marvell's Maniban at that time belonged to the clergy of the metropolitan see, in which a relative of his was to become an archbishop in the next century.

The conclusion of this note will be twofold : first, an expression of the hope that some antiquarian will discover the " wanted " Maniban, so that fact may take the place of conjecture ; secondly, an apology for cancelling a piece of legend which filled up conveniently the blank of Marvell's stay in France during his youth, while adding little to our information on his later years which are tolerably well known, thanks to his correspondence. Indeed, it seems that recent criticism has been more successful in clearing the

ground from untrustworthy traditions than in discovering fresh documents about those formative years of the lyrical poet who, to use Sainte-Beuve's hackneyed phrase, "died young, though long the man survived."

PIERRE LEGOUIS.

Besançon, April, 1926.

JOHNSON AND THE *ENCYCLOPÉDIE*

It is well known that whole columns of the *Encyclopédie* are pillaged from other writings,* but it seems never to have been pointed out that the article *Anglois* is for the most part a translation of the running commentary made by Johnson on the specimens given in "The History of the English Language," prefixed to the Dictionary.

This article occurs in the *Supplément* (tome 1, 1776, pp. 429 foll.) and is editorial.†

The nature of the version is shown by the following extract :

JOHNSON †

He [Chaucer] does not however appear to have deserved all the praise which he has received, or all the censure that he has suffered. Dryden, who, mistaking genius for learning, in confidence of his abilities, ventured to write of what he had not examined, ascribes to Chaucer the first refinement of our numbers, the first production of easy and natural rhymes, and the improvement of our language, by words borrowed from the more polished languages of the continent. Skinner contrarily blames him in harsh terms for having vitiated his

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Chaucer ne mérite ni tous les éloges, ni tout le blâme qu'il a reçus. Dryden, qui confond le génie avec la simple érudition, & qui par une étrange présomption a parlé de ce qu'il n'avait pas assez examiné, attribue à Chaucer la gloire d'avoir trouvé le premier le rithme *Anglois*, ou la prosodie de sa langue, d'avoir le premier fait usage des rimes aisées & naturelles, d'avoir perfectionné l'*Anglois* en l'enrichissant à propos d'un grand nombre de mots empruntés des langues les plus polies du continent. Skin-

* On peut dire que l'*Encyclopédie* fourmille d'articles volés. L. Ducros, *Les Encyclopédistes*, ch. iii, 1900, p. 121.

† Diderot n'est pour rien dans les Suppléments. Lanson, *Manuel Bibliographique de la littérature française moderne*, 1921, p. 775. I have failed to discover who the editor was.

‡ Taken from the fourth edition (1773) of the Dictionary.

§ I have not tampered with the accentuation or the spelling of my original.

JOHNSON

native speech by *whole cartloads of foreign words*. But he that reads the works of Gower will find smooth numbers and easy rhymes, of which Chaucer is supposed to have been the inventor, and the French words, whether good or bad, of which Chaucer is charged as the importer. Some innovations he might probably make, like others, in the infancy of our poetry, which the paucity of books does [not *] allow us to discover with particular exactness ; but the works of Gower and Lydgate sufficiently evince, that his diction was in general like that of his contemporaries : and some improvements he undoubtedly made by the various dispositions of his rhymes, and by the mixture of different numbers, in which he seems to have been happy and judicious.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIST

ner le blâme au contraire, de la manière la plus dure, d'avoir corrompu sa langue maternelle par l'alliage d'un grand nombre de mots étrangers. †

Revenons à Gower : ses œuvres offrent cette cadence harmonieuse ; ces rimes aisées dont on attribue gratuitement l'invention à Chaucer : on y trouve ces mots étrangers, ces mots latins, ces mots françois, bon ou mauvais assemblage dont on rend Chaucer responsable. Celui-ci peut bien avoir introduit quelques innovations dans sa langue, comme on a fait avant lui, sur-tout dans l'enfance de la poésie angloise. Mais les œuvres de Gower & de Lydgade prouvent incontestablement que la diction de Chaucer fut en général semblable à celle de ses contemporains, qu'il la perfectionna seulement par sa poésie, par le choix & la disposition du metre & des rimes, en quoi il semble avoir été aussi heureux que judicieux.

The writer does not, indeed, definitely acknowledge his indebtedness to Johnson, but he makes it quite clear from what source his information is derived in the following encomiastic criticism with which his article ends :

Il seroit peut-être à propos de montrer les différens changemens qu'elle [la langue Angloise] a essuyés & sa métamorphose, par des exemples tirés des ouvrages qui ont été composés dans ses différentes révolutions ; ces longues citations angloises n'entrent point dans notre plan ; & l'on peut consulter là-dessus le grand Dictionnaire Anglois de M. Johnson en 2 vol. in-folio. On y trouvera des échantillons de la langue Angloise dans les divers périodes depuis Alfred le grand jusqu'au temps de la reine Elisabeth. Ce Dictionnaire est sans contredit le plus régulier, le plus complet, le plus savant, que nous ayons en Anglois.

* The error of omission occurs also in the first edition.

† Then follows an original observation on the admission of foreign elements in English.

L'auteur qui dans plusieurs autres ouvrages, s'est montré philosophe profond, littérateur solide, écrivain poli & correct, soutient ces trois caractères dans son dictionnaire. C'est le fruit d'une lecture immense. Les exemples y sont abondans ; mais ils n'y sont pas accumulés sans dessein : ils présentent des significations variées ou du moins des nuances du même sens. Ici le mot est appliqué aux personnes, & là aux choses. Un passage le montre pris en bonne part, un autre en mauvaise, un troisième en un sens indifférent. Celui-ci tiré d'un auteur ancien, constate l'authenticité du mot, celui-là tiré d'un moderne en prouve l'élégance. . . . Ce dictionnaire, par l'abondance & le choix des citations forme un recueil agréable des plus beaux morceaux des auteurs en vers & en prose. . . . Dans ce flux continuel de mots qui sans raison tombent dans l'oubli, ou sans nécessité acquièrent l'existence, le lexicographe doit également se garantir de prévention pour l'antiquité, & d'affection de néologisme. Il convient de rappeler à la vie des termes qui n'ont d'autre défaut que d'avoir vieilli, & d'être circonspect à recevoir ceux qu'une autorité suffisante n'a pas encore consacrés. M. Johnson se montre judicieux critique & excellent grammairien à tous ces égards, & s'il paroît un peu trop attaché à l'antiquité, aux Hooker, aux Bacon, aux Rawlegh, aux Spencer, aux Sidney, aux Shakespear, il ne néglige pourtant pas les Tillotson, les Locke, les Clarendon, les Newton, . . . les Pope, &c., &c. Il fixe l'orthographe & la prononciation avec de grands égards à la dérivation, à la grammaire & à l'usage.

Johnson possessed seven volumes of the *Encyclopédie*,* presumably the first seven, but I find no definite mention of it in the whole body of his writings, in the twelve hundred-odd letters which have survived, or in Boswell's great record. Perhaps a closer scrutiny would reveal somewhat, for it would surely be remarkable if a work which has been justly described as "le vrai centre d'une histoire des idées au XVIII^e siècle,"† had no influence on the mind of Samuel Johnson.‡

L. F. POWELL.

* *The Sale Catalogue of Johnson's Library*, No. 488, p. 22. "Encyclopédie, 7 t. Par. 1751 [folio]." From the handsome reprint published last year by Mr. A. Edward Newton, we learn that it sold for £1 6s. It is unlikely that Johnson was one of the original 4,000 subscribers, who paid 280 livres for the first ten volumes.

† Brunetière, *L'Évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature*, t. i. 1890, p. 210.

‡ In Dr. J. E. Brown's large volume, *The Critical Opinions of Samuel Johnson* (1926), there is no reference to the *Encyclopédie*.

DR. JOHNSON AND DR. TAYLOR

DR. John Taylor's *Letter to Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. on the Subject of a Future State* (Cadell, 1787, 4^o) is so scarce a piece that a description of it may be not without interest. There is no copy in the British Museum. The copy examined collates :

- (1) Five leaves, unsigned and unnumbered : Half-title (verso blank) ; Title (verso blank) ; dedication to the Duke of Devonshire (verso blank) ; advertisement (verso blank) ; poem by Brooke Boothby, Jun. (verso blank).
- (2) B—C in fours, D₁, pp. [1]—18, the Letter.
- (3) E², pp. 19—22, letters from Johnson to Taylor.

In spite of seeming eccentricity, this copy is probably perfect. The watermarks make it almost certain that the half-title and D₁ were printed together as a half-sheet (the remainder of the preliminary is a complete sheet). E² was not printed *with* this half-sheet, for it bears the same watermark (the paper used had two distinct watermarks) ; it may have been an afterthought.

Taylor's advertisement states that

The Author of the following Letter, having heard that his friend Dr. Johnson had said, that he would prefer a state of torment to that of annihilation, waited upon the Doctor, and told him that such a declaration, coming from a person of his weight and character, might be productive of evil consequences. Dr. J. desired him to arrange his thoughts on the subject. This request was complied with, and the arguments, then drawn up, have, since the Doctor's death, been enlarged, at the request of some particular friends who saw, and approved of them.

The request and the enlargement need not be doubted. But all that we know of the relations between Johnson and Taylor, and of Taylor's character and attainments, prompts the suspicion that Johnson did more than "desire him to arrange his thoughts." This is perhaps hinted in the conclusion :

I hope you will approve the part which I have done ; and I have no doubt but that I shall be perfectly satisfied with your superstructure upon this foundation.

I will give two passages from those parts of the pamphlet in which

I see Johnson's hand. An early paragraph describes the speculations of the pagan philosophers in these terms :

As they saw the world wisely made, they very reasonably supposed it to be wisely governed ; and as they could not reconcile the appearance of the present state with the idea they had formed of the wisdom of the Creator, they concluded, and concluded with great justice, that they saw only part of his works ; that the present state was imperfect, and that there was another existence necessary to complete the scheme of divine wisdom.

Imitations as good as this of the style of Imlac can doubtless be adduced ; but we should not expect them from Taylor, who, though Johnson said he had "a very strong understanding," was not a master of English (see Hill's *Boswell*, ii. 474 and note).

Another sentence of which I am unable to believe that Taylor was the author, occurs in p. 14 :

The Scriptures are written with pity to the infirmities of man, but with no indulgence to his pride.

The account given in the advertisement of Johnson's *dictum*, which provoked his friend to arrange his thoughts, is amplified in the text :

When I told you that I had heard from Mr. Jodrell, of your conversation with Dr. Brocklesby about annihilation ; you said, "That nothing could be more weak than any such notion ; that life was indeed a great thing ; and that you meant nothing more by your preference of a state of torment to a state of annihilation, than to express at what an immense value you rated vital existence."

Taylor's pamphlet was reprinted by the Rev. Thomas Taylor in his *Life of John Taylor* (1910, pp. 27-45) ; but Mr. Taylor did not reprint the three letters by Johnson. These are stated to be "selected from a great Number, which contain similar Expressions of Friendship and Esteem." They are those of March 18, 1752 (on the death of his wife ; Hill's *Boswell*, i. 238) ; June 17, 1783 (on his paralytic stroke ; iv. 228) ; April 12, 1784 (iv. 270). These are the only letters to Taylor printed by Boswell, and the pamphlet was no doubt his source, though he did not say so.

R. W. C.

A STORY FROM *GULLIVER'S TRAVELS*

IN the second chapter of the third voyage of Captain Gulliver he dwells on the attractions of the metropolis of the firm land to the women of the flying island.

I was told that a great court lady, who had several children, is married to the Prime Minister, the richest subject in the kingdom, a very graceful person, extremely fond of her, and lives in the finest palace of the island, went down to Lagado on the pretence of health, there hid herself for several months, till the King sent a warrant to search for her, and she was found in an obscure eating-house, all in rags, having pawned her clothes to maintain an old deformed footman, who beat her every day, and in whose company she was taken much against her will. And although her husband received her with all possible kindness, and without the least reproach, she soon after contrived to steal down again with all her jewels to the same gallant, and hath not been heard of since.

This may perhaps pass with the reader rather for an European or English story, than for one of a country so remote. But he may please to consider, that the caprices of womenkind are not limited by any climate or nation, and that they are much more uniform than can be easily imagined (*Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Dennis, 1899, pp. 170-1).

It was an English story and referred to a scandal which occurred about the end of Queen Anne's reign. This was recognised when Gulliver was published. "Does not this resemble, Mr. Dean," said the author of the "Key" to the Travels, "the case of the late John Dormer, Esq., and Tom Jones his footman?"

A letter from Lord Berkeley to Lord Strafford dated April 24, 1713, refers to a piece of gossip which might interest the Ambassador.

"There goes an odd story of Mrs. Dormer, whom you may better know by the name of Die Kirk, that a footman of hers pretending to have had great familiarities, being refused money, beat her very unmercifully" (*Wentworth Papers*, ed. J. J. Cartwright, 1883, p. 329). The truth of the rumour was confirmed a couple of years later. John Dormer, Esq., brought an action against Thomas Jones for £10,000 damages, which was heard at the King's Bench before Chief Justice Parker in Hilary Term, 1715. Jones, who was a footman in Dormer's service, was charged with beating and ill-using Dormer's wife, with whom he had also committed adultery. The report of the trial says: "If the master was most acceptable for the comeliness of his person, the beauties of his mind, and the affability of his temper, the servant was distinguished for his

deformity of body and soul, being neither possessed of one good feature in the one, nor one quality fit to be borne with in the other" (*Cases of Divorce for Several Causes*, published from original MSS. London. Printed for E. Curll, 1715 (p. 45)). The jury gave Dormer £5000 damages. After the trial, Jones absconded and took refuge in the Mint. Dormer then sued for a divorce in Doctors Commons.

More than a century later this old story came to life again. A French journalist, who was one of the severest critics of the Second Empire, Prévost-Paradol, had made a special study of Swift when he was a student (Goulding, *Swift en France*, p. 170). It occurred to him to convert the story into a political parable directed against the government of Napoleon III. He introduced it into an article in *Le Courrier du Dimanche* (August 2, 1866) : "Dans un des voyages de Gulliver, l'île de Laputa, on raconte l'histoire d'une dame," etc. After the fable came the moral :

La France est une dame de la cour très belle, aimée par les plus galants hommes, qui s'enfuit pour aller vivre avec un palfrenier. Elle est dépouillée, battue, abîtie un peu plus tous les jours, mais c'en est fait ; elle y a pris goût et ne peut plus être arrachée à cet indigne amant.

Paradol explained that the comparison was aimed at a rival newspaper, but every one assumed that it was directed against Napoleon III.

Le public (testifies Ollivier) l'avait appliquée tout d'une voix à l'Empereur, et je me rappelle encore l'applaudissement avec lequel on la répétait ainsi comprise dans les milieux anti-dynastiques (E. Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, viii. 528).

The government took this view too, so *Le Courrier du Dimanche* was duly suppressed (cf. Claveau, *Souvenirs Politiques*, i. 109).

C. H. FIRTH.

THE PETERBOROUGH ANNAL FOR 1137

It would scarcely seem possible at this time of day to add anything to the interpretation of the Peterborough Chronicle's Annal for 1137, which is included in every book of selections, and cited by every historian of the period—usually with several gross mistranslations.* Dr. Joseph Hall has, however, achieved it in his invaluable

* For example, H. W. C. Davis, in his *History of England under the Normans and Angevins*, at p. 158, translates *pa diden hi alle wunder* "then did they all wonder," and at p. 167, *bryninges* "burning things."

Selections from Early Middle English, which gives a diplomatic reproduction of the MS., from which I propose to quote. At l. 45 he translates *na iustise ne dide* as "inflicted no punishment," comparing the OF. *faire justise*; the Scots use of *justified* may also be cited as a parallel. Again, at l. 78 he translates *ouer sithon*, usually rendered as "everywhere afterwards," as "contrary to custom," deriving it from OE. **ofer sibpan*. Moreover, though his suggestions on the crux at l. 62, *lof ȝ grī. ȝ waron rachenteges*, are less happy, he gives a valuable clue in his citation of the gloss *collario* : *racentege* (A. S. Napier, *OE. Glosses*, 2062). The solution is provided, I think, by two OE. glosses on the line of Virgil, *Æneid*, ix. 616,

Et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae,

quoted at the end of c. lvi. of Aldhelm, *de Laudibus Virginitatis* (J. A. Giles, *Sancti Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 76). In MS. 1650 of the Royal Library at Brussels *redimicula* is glossed *wrædas oððe cynewiððan, lōfas* (*ZfdA*. ix., 525, 8) and in the Bodleian MS. Digby 146 *wrædas, cynewiððan, lōfas* (A. S. Napier, *OE. Glosses*, 5241). In Classical Latin *redimiculum* usually means "fillet" or "string (of a bonnet)," but once in Plautus it is used tropologically in the sense of "bond," "fetter," while *grin* is a common word for "halter" or "snare" down to the time of the Authorised Version of 1611, when *Psalm cxi. 5* has *grinnes*, for which modern reprints substitute *gins*. It seems therefore justifiable to retain the MS. reading expanded to *lof and grin*, to understand it as a double-barrelled technical term for a species of fetter which encircled the neck of the prisoner. It was presumably an unusual phrase, or the chronicler would not have felt it needed explanation.

Again, in the phrase *œuricman* (sc. *ræfede*) *oper pe ouer myhte* at l. 81, *ouer* is generally rendered "anywhere." But in this text OE. *ā* is only quite exceptionally represented by *o*, and I would suggest that *ouer myhte* corresponds to an OE. compound **ofermihte*, "had the power." I would compare the following passage from Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum*, p. 97 :

Stuntne mid witum on bodunge na
Fatum cum sapientibus in predicatione non
geferlaec þu þæt na purh hine se þe gefyllan
sócies ne per eum qui implére
þincg na mæg þam þe ofermæg wiðstande.
rem non ualet. illi qui préualet obsistas

(ed. E. W. Rhodes, *E. E. T. S.*, 1889).

Finally, I hope it will not seem impertinent if I call attention to vv. 509-619 especially of *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, which illustrate best of all the comments on Stephen's character at l. 45 (*he milde man was ȝ softe ȝ god. ȝ na iustise ne dide*). One of the Empress Matilda's supporters, John Marshal, who had given his young son William as a hostage, proceeded to strengthen the garrison of Newbury and, when the truce expired, refused to give up the castle. Stephen, seeing that he had been tricked, pressed on with the siege and determined to execute the hostage. Various suggestions were made—that he should be hanged before the eyes of the garrison, that he should be hurled into the castle from a catapult, that he should be set atop of a siege engine which was being brought up for the assault. But on each occasion the King's heart was touched by the child's naive remarks, and, when the danger was over, we have an attractive picture of king and hostage "playing at soldiers" (*i.e.* with plantain-heads) in the royal tent. There is a condensed Modern French version in vol. iii. of Paul Meyer's edition (3 vols., Paris, 1891-1901), and a rather clumsy English translation of the Newbury episode in W. Moneys *History . . . of Newbury*, pp. 87-94 (Oxford, 1887).

BRUCE DICKINS.

Edinburgh University.

POSTSCRIPT.—This note was already in type when I discovered that Mr. F. P. Magoun and Prof. O. F. Emerson had independently arrived at a similar interpretation of *lōf and grin*. Their articles in *Modern Language Notes*, XL. 411-2 and XLI. 170-2, I commend to the interested reader.

POPE AND MARY CHANDLER

MR. OSWALD DOUGHTY, in his essay on Mary Chandler in the *Review of English Studies* of October last, quoted fifteen lines of her verse beginning, "Sweet solitude, the Muses' dear delight," and observed: "And to these verses of the little milliner the great Mr. Pope himself was indebted when he wrote one of the best-known passages in the *Essay on Man*:

All are but parts of one stupendous whole . . ."

The similarity of the two passages seems to have been first noted by Wakefield, in 1796, in his *Observations on Pope*.* Wakefield, however, gave no authority for his statement that "our poet is certainly indebted to the . . . verses of Mrs. Chandler on Solitude," nor did Elwin, who incorporated Wakefield's remark into his notes on the *Essay on Man* without, apparently, attempting to verify it.† The difficulty is that Mary Chandler's verses appear to have been written after the *Essay*, not before it. They are not taken from *A Description of Bath*, and they are not among the additional pieces appended to the third, fourth or seventh editions of that poem.‡ Unless the lines appear in the fifth or sixth editions, which I have not seen, they were first published in 1753, in the biographical sketch of the poetess written for Cibber's *Lives of the Poets* by her brother Samuel.§ His reference to the verses on solitude as "the few following lines" seems to indicate that they were a mere fragment, perhaps intended as a part of that "nobler work, a large poem on the Being and Attributes of God, which was her favourite subject," and of which, as her brother adds, she left behind her imperfect pieces.

It is within the bounds of possibility that the lines were written before 1733, and that Pope had seen them in manuscript. But Mary Chandler's avowed object in publishing her poems was to spare herself the trouble of copying them out for friends, and if these particular verses were being circulated it is hard to see why they were never included in the additions to her published work which she made from time to time. It seems more reasonable to conclude that the influence in this instance, as in many others, was not of Mary Chandler on Pope, but of Pope on Mary Chandler.

ARTHUR E. CASE.

[The above has been shown in proof to Mr. Doughty, who writes as follows :]

The facts cited by Mr. Case were not unknown to me when I wrote my study of Mary Chandler. The only difference between Mr. Case and myself seems to be that, while in the absence of definite evidence to the contrary, I prefer to follow in the path of Wakefield and Elwin, Mr. Case prefers to lose himself in the wilderness of unverifiable speculation.

* P. 169.

† Published in 1736, 1738 and 1755 respectively.

‡ Pope's Works, ii. 369.

§ ii. 345-54.

I have no wish to enter what one critic has called "that inane region of suppositions, disputes and lost manuscripts," which fascinates so many, but Mr. Case's argument demands a brief reply. His strictly logical theory that if the verses on solitude had been written at the time of any of the various editions of Mary Chandler's poems they would have been inserted amongst them, could only carry weight if human beings were machines perfect in action and beyond the reach of chance. Such "logical" theories however, in the case of human life with all its illogicality and accidents, have no weight whatever. The critic whose criticism is based upon the observation of actual experience, realises in such matters that there can be only one certainty, *i.e.* that the most logical argument must almost inevitably be wrong.

If Wakefield's evidence be rejected there can be no real argument; for a discussion based on no significant certainty, inevitably becomes mere invention. Both Mr. Case and myself, I believe, could invent a thousand plausible conjectures which would cover the facts and yet support our respective conclusions. But until definite evidence is forthcoming to discredit Wakefield, I prefer to believe that he had reasons when he said : "our poet is certainly indebted to the following verses of Mrs. Chandler on Solitude."

Oswald Doughty.

University College,
London, May 18, 1926.

A CONGREVE HOLOGRAPH

In Vol. I., at p. 226 of the grangerised copy of Doran's *Her Majesty's Servants*, formerly the property of Herbert Henry Raphael and now preserved in the Theatrical section of the Widener Memorial Library at Harvard, is the undernoted document :—

" Surrey Street,
" 13 Sep : 1716.

" Pay to Mr. Tho Snow the Dividend on Seven Hundred pounds being all my Stock in the South Sea Comp" books for two Half years of 3 li. p. ct. each due Mid. last and Xmas next this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

" Wm. Congreve."

" To Mr. Grigsby."

It is noteworthy that elsewhere in the same remarkable collection of theatrical memorabilia I recently found evidence that Colley Cibber and Mrs. Bracegirdle were also holders of South Sea Stock.

W. J. Lawrence.

5, Longford Place,
Monkstown, Co. Dublin.

SATALYE (CHAUCER, C.T. PROL. 58)

MAY I be allowed to explain a form which, though offering no great difficulty, is strangely passed over in all editions of Chaucer and works of reference which I have been able to consult?

Satalye is clearly Attalia, the modern Adalia ; the addition of the initial S is explained by a comparison of the parallel forms Stamboul (*ἰε τὰν πόλιν*), Stanko (*ἰε τὰν Κῶ*), Esquize (*ἰε Κύζικον*), Stalimine (*ἰε τὸν λαμένα, Lesbos*).

The S, then, is a survival of the Greek preposition. Similar cases are Negropont (*ἰε τὸν Εὔριπον* [Evrilon]) and Dembre (*ἰε τὴν Μύραν* ; Ramsay, *S. Paul the Traveller*, p. 129). A remarkable parallel in Classical Greek is the verb *σκορπαῖζω*.

W. B. SEDGWICK.

THOMAS SHERIDAN'S *BRAVE IRISHMAN*

PROFESSOR Allardyce Nicoll, in his *History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 1700-1750* (1925), tells us that " Sheridan penned *Captain O'Blunder* (Dublin, 1737) for Sparks " ; and elsewhere in his book he informs us that *The Brave Irishman* " was played at Goodman's Fields on January 31, 1746," but that " it was acted originally in Dublin in 1738."

Here let me say that a crop of inaccurate statements has been published in regard to the early years of Tom Sheridan, e.g. (a) that he was born in Co. Cavan ; (b) that his birth took place in 1721 ; (c) that he wrote *The Brave Irishman* in 1738 ; (d) that he made his *début* in 1742 ; and (e) that Sparks was the original Captain O'Blunder. Therefore it may be well to state that Tom Sheridan first saw the light at No. 27, Capel St., Dublin, where his father kept his celebrated classical school, and (b) that his birth date was 1718-9. Though for a short time at Westminster School, he entered Trinity College, Dublin, 1736-7, becoming a Scholar in 1738, and graduating B.A. in 1739.

While yet a student at Trinity College, Dublin, he wrote his well-known farce, which was duly produced (anonymously) at the Theatre Royal, Aungier St., Dublin, on Monday, February 21, 1736-7, under the title of *The Honest Irishman ; or the Cuckold in Conceit*.

The Dublin advertisement announced it "for the benefit of Mr. Reed," and describes it as "a Farce written by a Gentleman of Trinity College, Dublin." A significant "N.B." is added: "Particular care is taken that the Farce shall be played perfectly." As far as I can glean, the original Captain O'Blunder was played by Mr. P. Morris, who played it, six years later, on June 12, at Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, the Farce being announced as *The Brave Irishman*. A week later (June 19) it was again produced as an afterpiece to *Cato*, and was repeated on July 12, 1743.

Meantime, Sheridan made his Dublin *début* on January 29, 1742-3, in *Richard III.*, at Smock Alley Theatre, taking a benefit in the same play on February 21. He appeared in *Cato* at the Theatre Royal, Aungier St., it being a command night, on July 28, 1743. In Morris's benefit, at Smock Alley, Sheridan played *Richard III.*, followed by *The Brave Irishman* on December 1.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

THE TEMPEST, III. ii. 121

*Flout 'em, and cout 'em : and showt 'em, and flout 'em,
Thought is free.*

THE note in the *New Cambridge Shakespeare* is as follows :

"120. *cout 'em*. Mod. edd. read 'scout'; but 'cout' = variants of 'colt' = befool. v. N.E.D. 'colt.' Note F spells 'scout' in second half of the line, 'skowt.' [Really *showt* (Italics).]

The New Cambridge editors are probably justified in retaining "cout," but not for the reasons assigned. In a drunken song a mutilated pronunciation, from which recovery is immediately made, may be intentional, though I do not think it is. The accidental dropping of an *s* is more likely, and the fact of variant spellings in a sixteenth or seventeenth century text is no proof that the words variously spelt are different. Cf. the five spellings of "sheriff," within a few lines, in the "D" fragment of *Sir Thomas More* : Shreiff, shreef (l. 164); shreeue (167); Shreue, Shreue (168).

The "technique" of a rollicking ditty of this kind requires : (1) that the same pair of words should be repeated, but in reverse order; (2) that the words forming the pairs should rime together. The explanation "cout=colt" breaks both rules.

On philological grounds the view that "cout" = "colt" (befool) is quite inadmissible. N.E.D. cites the forms "cout," "cowt" under "colt" (subst., not verb) as *nineteenth-century dialect*. A reference to Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* shows that the forms "cout" (*kaut*), etc., are Scots and Northern English. In these dialects the word rimes with "shout." Similarly, in the same dialects "folk" became "fowk" (*fauk*). If in the literary speech *l* had been lost in the group *olt*, the resultant vowel would be identical, at every stage, with the vowel in "folk," not with that in "flout"; but in this position, in literary English, *l* did not drop at any time. Shakespeare had no Northern peculiarities in his own speech; he uses "colt" (=befool) several times, always in the form "colt"; and he could not have intended Stephano or Trinculo to use a Scots or Northern English dialect.

MARK HUNTER.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH PROSE

March 31, 1926.

SIR,

Your reviewer (R. B. McK.) asks, "Why is the Oxford Press, so admirable in most respects, so indifferent in those minor details of production which make for the convenience of the reader?" the ground of complaint being that the references in the index are to the numbers of the extracts and that it is difficult to find the place.

I might complain in my turn that R. B. McK. is obscure. I suppose that "indifferent" means "negligent" (though we should rather expect "indifferent to"), and is not merely a euphemism for bad. But I am not clear whether the charge is general or specific. In either case I plead not guilty of negligence or arrogance. My distinguished predecessor used often to deplore the ambiguous situation created (now a quarter of a century ago) when the index to the *Oxford Book of English Verse* was made to refer to the numbers of the poems and not to the pages; and my recollection is that we used to agree that to go back on that would only make confusion worse confounded. In the *Oxford Book of English Prose* accordingly the reference of the index is made as clear as it can be by the

repetition of *No.* on every page of the index ; and in the text the extract numbers are made as prominent and the page numbers as obscure as possible.

The question may naturally be asked, why should extracts be numbered if no use is to be made of the numbers ? and again, why should pages be numbered if page-references are not to be used ? The solution of not numbering the pages was boldly adopted by Cannan and Bywater when they planned the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, and I think that on the whole they were justified by results, though complaints have been heard. But in books issued for popular consumption in the vulgar tongue the public prejudice against unpaginated books is too strong. Even the Pocket Oxford Dictionary has page numbers.

I hope it will not be thought from this letter that we resent criticism on matters of this kind, to the importance of which we are, I hope, fully alive.

Yours faithfully,

R. W. CHAPMAN.

The Editor, *The Review of English Studies*.

Perhaps I was obscure, for my point was not so much that the references in the *Prose* were by extracts and not by pages (it would obviously have been awkward to depart from the method used in the *Verse*), but that having adopted this method the authorities of the Press did not give the extract numbers in the headline and thus facilitate the finding of the numbers required.

In reply to Mr. Chapman's queries, I cannot myself ever see much reason for giving serial numbers to things which do not form any sort of series. The reason for numbering *pages* is surely that if one wishes to refer to a particular short passage in this or any other book (save in one in which the lines are numbered continuously) reference by page is by far the readiest method. It must not be forgotten that others besides the indexer may need to give such references. But Mr. Chapman has, I think, taken my comment more seriously than it deserves. The omission, if it is one, is a small matter in a book which is in most respects excellent. And yet to one who constantly feels the need of more time for work, anything which hinders in however small a degree the finding of what one wants in a book is not quite a trifle.

Lastly, of course, I had no idea of bringing a general charge against the Oxford Press of negligence in matters of this kind, though I might perhaps if pressed give one or two other instances where a little more consideration would perhaps have made a book more easy to use. But, even so, this is nothing in comparison with the immense benefits which the Press has conferred and is constantly conferring upon us.

R. B. McK.

REVIEWS

Shakespeare's Sonette. Von Dr. RUDOLF FISCHER. Wien und Leipzig: W. Braumüller. 1925. Pp. 182.

A YEAR ago this Review printed a notice of an interesting little booklet on the *Sonnets*, in which the author, Mr. J. A. Fort, accepting the arrangement of the first 126 sonnets of Thorpe's edition as chronologically correct, made a valiant, but in my view only partially successful, attempt to pin certain sonnets down to definite dates, and so to bring the whole series (1-126) into connexion with the known facts of Southampton's career between the years 1593 and 1603. His main contention—that Shakespeare began to write sonnets to Southampton in April 1593, after that first meeting, when the poet left the MS. of *Venus and Adonis* to the "honourable survey" of the patron, that sonnet 26 was written in 1594, on the occasion of the presentation of a second MS. poem, viz. *Lucrece*, the prose dedication of which indeed it closely paraphrases, and that sonnet 104 was written in April 1596 in celebration of the anniversary of the first meeting three years earlier—holds the field, and will, I think, prove difficult to overthrow. That the rest of his argument seems unconvincing is due, as I am now persuaded by the book lying before me, to the simple fact that the order of the sonnets in Thorpe's edition is not authentic.

Dr. Rudolf Fischer, Professor of English in the University of Innsbruck, died in December 1923, leaving behind him this volume on the *Sonnets* ready for publication, which his successor, Professor Brunner, has seen through the Press. It is a laborious, highly methodical, somewhat stupid, and occasionally exasperating production. At times the English reader is left bewildered by opinions which can only, I think, be explained on the supposition that the professor was more familiar with a German translation of the *Sonnets* than with Shakespeare's original. Thus it suits the author's book to

classify sonnet 33 as one of those addressed to the Dark Lady. Faced with the lines :

Even so my sun one early morn did shine
With all triumphant splendour on my brow ;
But out ! alack ! he was but one hour mine,
The region cloud hath mask'd him from me now,

no English writer could have committed this absurdity, which is, however, explicable in one whose native language treats the sun as a female. Again, we are assured that sonnets 97, 98, 99—which are likewise supposed to be addressed to a woman and not to the "friend"—were written in praise of a blonde, presumably because the line—

And buds of marjoram had stolen thy hair,

which in English suggests crisp curls, has a German rendering which somehow introduces the notion of yellow. Nevertheless, despite these and other faults of a similar nature, I believe Dr. Fischer's book to be one of the most important contributions yet made to the solution of the problem of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, seeing that he has not only shown conclusively that Thorpe's arrangement is unchronological, but has attempted a re-arrangement on lines which all future students of the problem will have to reckon with, however much they may disagree with it in detail.

His main argument runs as follows : Thorpe's collection is of course divided into two groups : (a) sonnets of friendship (1-126), and (b) sonnets of love (127-152) ; for sonnets 153, 154, written to a lady in Bath, have no necessary connexion with the other 152. But the two groups belong to the same story, as is evident from sonnets 40, 41, 42 and 133, 134, 144, which, dealing with all three figures, the friend, the mistress and the poet, bind the groups together into a single cycle. On the other hand, since these six sonnets are concerned with what seems to have been a brief episode in a series of events which clearly extended over many years, the fact that they are divided in Thorpe's edition into two sets of three proves that the collection as a whole is not in chronological order. Nor, when the two main groups come to be closely examined, do they appear to run chronologically either. The series 127-152 has obviously no claim to do so, and though 1-126 presents at first sight the appearance of a time-sequence, the appearance is deceptive. Fischer's demonstration of this last point, which is crucial to his whole case, is long, elaborate and, apart from minor crudities, in

my opinion convincing. At a later stage of the book, however, he brings forward evidence of a different kind which, I think, is sufficient of itself to prove his thesis, and, being capable of brief exposition, may here be set forth.

The friendship series opens, as everybody knows, with a dozen or more sonnets, urging matrimony upon the fair friend on the plea that only by begetting an heir can he perpetuate his beauty in the world :

And nothing 'gainst Time's scythe can make defence
Save breed, to brave him when he takes thee thence.

After this it seems inconsistent of Shakespeare to write another sonnet-sequence, which follows immediately on what Fischer quaintly labels *die Prokreationssonette*, assuring his friend that his only hope of defeating the attacks of Time is to seek immortality in his poet's verse :

Yet do thy worst, old Time : despite thy wrong,
My love shall in my verse ever live young—

a couplet which reads almost like a flat contradiction of the one just quoted above. But I, and I suppose most other readers of the *Sonnets*, have always somewhat hazily attributed this seeming inconsistency to the natural turn of events : Southampton got bored with this marriage-talk, he had no intention of marrying at the time, and told his poet so in plain terms ; Shakespeare, therefore, had to try a new tack. This explanation, however, Fischer shows to be unworkable, since between the two sequences there lies a small group of sonnets (15, 16, 17), marking the transition from one to the other, but a transition which is exactly in the reverse order to that which the 1600 edition gives. The opening lines of 16 seem to me to leave no doubt on the matter :

But wherefore do not you a mightier way
Make war upon this bloody tyrant, Time ?
And fortify yourself in your decay
With means more blessed than my barren rhyme ?

In a word, Shakespeare began by addressing Southampton in sonnets promising him in conventional fashion, though in altogether unexampled poetry, an immortality in verse ; and later, pretty certainly at the suggestion of the young man's family who were anxious for an heir to the house, skilfully devoted the immortality theme to the service of Hymen. And this is surely the natural order

of things. That Shakespeare should be used by the Countess of Southampton, as it would seem, to further her desire to see her boy married, would imply not only intimacy with the family but some confidence in him from the family's side, an intimacy and a confidence which would take time to grow, and must have grown, out of Shakespeare's friendship with the young nobleman. Further, to add a point of my own, Fischer's theory seems to me the more certain inasmuch as it affords a natural setting for that extraordinary sonnet, No. 20, which Fischer himself appears to misunderstand. In turning the corner from the one sequence to the other, Shakespeare had more to do than just to change his theme, he had to offer some reason why he, who had been paying court to his "fair friend," renascence-fashion, should now ask him to bestow his affections elsewhere. In sonnet 20, as I believe, Shakespeare offers his reasons. Its final couplet links it definitely with the matrimony group, while the whole tenour of the poem marks it out as one of the sonnets which connect that group with the previous sequence.

But if Thorpe's order is not chronological, what is it and how did it arise? For clearly, as far as sonnets 1-126 are concerned, the arrangement, however incorrect, is deliberate. Fischer meets this question by positing editorial intervention. He does not believe in any authoritative collection at the back of Thorpe's edition, but supposes the 1609 text to have been brought together from various sources, such sources as Meres hints at in his famous reference to the *Sonnets*, by an agent of Thorpe's. Fischer does not, I think, face all the difficulties involved in this supposition,* but, as he points out, there are very grave difficulties in what is usually taken as the alternative supposition, viz. that the text was derived, directly or indirectly, from Southampton. The "Dark Lady" sonnets, for instance, are hardly likely to have been in his possession, and if they had been, he would probably feel himself gravely compromised by their publication. Nevertheless, the unknown editor of Fischer's theory must have been some one belonging to Southampton's circle, or to the literary coterie surrounding Shakespeare, since how else would he have had access to the necessary sources for making the collection? It follows that he must have known something of

* Personally I find it very hard to believe that the printer's copy was not closely connected with Shakespeare's original, perhaps by means of a transcript, but if so a transcript made by a single hand. If we imagine William Hall, or another, gaining access by some means to a rather disorderly collection of the sonnets in Shakespeare's own study, all difficulties would be removed.

the story of the relations between the poet and his patron. This knowledge, at best vague and, as concerns the "Dark Lady," probably involving nothing further than the mere fact of her existence, would be enough to account for the arrangement of the transmitted text. He knew that there had been a close friendship, followed by a quarrel over a woman, a complete break of some duration, and finally reconciliation and renewal of friendship. Such would be common gossip at the time in theatrical and literary circles. The editor, therefore, having made a preliminary division of his material under the headings of Friendship and Love, would be able to arrange the sonnets of the first section in an order which seemed, and still seems, more or less intelligible. Gossip, however, told him little or nothing helpful concerning the lady in the case, so that he was unable to do anything with the second section. But, as Fischer contends, his worst blunder of all was the division into the two sections of Love and Friendship, inasmuch as the conventional language of love and friendship at this time being practically identical, such a classification was most risky except as regards sonnets in which the sex of the person addressed was unmistakable. And, as a matter of fact, Fischer claims that no less than 22 of the Friendship sonnets really belong to the Love section.

As I have already hinted, in some of these details I think the German critic overshoots the mark. But I have said enough, I hope, to show that despite its blemishes, his book is of first-class importance to Shakespearian scholarship.

J. DOVER WILSON.

The Critical Opinions of Samuel Johnson. Arranged and compiled by JOSEPH EPES BROWN. Princeton University Press : Milford. 31s. 6d.

Piozzi Marginalia. Edited by PERCIVAL MERRITT. Harvard University Press : Milford. 12s. 6d.

IT is always a question whether indexes, concordances, and the like are worth making. Not infrequently the true answer would resemble Johnson's about the Giant's Causeway : the work is worth having but not worth doing ; useful, but not useful enough to deserve shelf-room. But there need be no hesitation about Dr. Brown's

work, which is well done and was worth doing. Johnson's critical dicta are by no means confined to the Lives of the Poets and the edition of Shakespeare, and the remainder are scattered through his voluminous works, where not many people are likely to find them. Dr. Brown's aim has been to quote, summarise, or at least refer to "every passage of a critical nature" in the Johnsonian canon and in Boswell's and other Johnsoniana. The work is in two alphabetical series: the first general (e.g. *Decorum*, *Dedications*, *Description*, *Dialogue*, *Diaries*), the second particular (e.g. *Pope*, *Prior*, *Rabelais*, *Racine*, *Raleigh*, *Ramsay*, *Rapin*, *Redi*, *Reed*, *Richardson*). I have no fault to find with the execution, which is businesslike and free from pedantry. The introduction shows that Dr. Brown has judgment and humour, and the text suggests that he has compiled with discretion. I do not recall any important passage that he has omitted. It is natural to ask what would have been Johnson's view of this book. Would he have said that such a collection "puts the rest out of the way"? That is the one danger—that students (and their teachers) in a hurry may substitute Brown's Digest for the Lives of the Poets. We may comfort ourselves with the reflection that those who will do this would miss salvation anyhow.

The only criticism that occurs is one that hardly affects the value of the book. I offer it because it concerns a not unimportant question of method. Dr. Brown uses the Oxford editions of the Lives and the Preface to Shakespeare; for the other things he refers to Hawkins's edition of the *Works*, 1787, with its supplements 1788 and 1789; where these fail him, he falls back on the Oxford edition of 1825. The drawback to this is that if your Johnson is any of the Murphy editions, of which the arrangement differs from Hawkins, you may have difficulty in finding a passage. That would not matter so much. But it is irritating not to know from what work a passage is taken. Dr. Brown adds the reference to the number of the *Rambler* or *Idler* or *Adventurer*, and sometimes names a minor work. But often we are left to guess from the date; and only a specialist in Johnsonian bibliography will guess right off that 1747 must mean the Drury Lane Prologue or the *Plan of a Dictionary*, and so on.

The quotations under *Emendation*, *Textual* refer to author's afterthoughts, not to textual criticism, on which Johnson's views are important. Presumably this omission is deliberate, but it is perhaps regrettable. (On p. 353, *tetastrick* is not Boswell's; this word is

correctly printed in his third edition, where the passage first appears.) The book is admirably printed by the Princeton University Press.

Mr. Merritt has made a charming bundle out of some very thin sticks. The marginalia are readable—Madam Piozzi is always readable, though one wonders why one reads. But one wishes that a more important text had been the excuse for the editor's judicious introduction, the pleasant pictures, and the accomplished Harvard printing. I do not find Mr. Bruce Rogers's name anywhere in the book; but it is listed as a "B.R. item" in Mr. Warde's recent catalogue. Will not Mr. Merritt add something better to his collection, and have Mr. Rogers or Mr. Rollins print it?

R. W. CHAPMAN.

The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne. By WILBUR L. CROSS. A new edition. Two Volumes. Yale University Press and Humphrey Milford. £1 11s. 6d. net. (I., xxii. + 287 pp.; II., 333 pp.)

THE life of Laurence Sterne was of the simplest sort. When Percy Fitzgerald laid with the publication in 1864 of his pioneer biography the foundation of our present-day knowledge of that life, he was taken severely to task by Walter Bagehot for attempting to improve upon what Scott and Thackeray had each in a few pages accomplished, and was told that had his subject demanded more elaborate treatment such treatment would already have been accorded it.

Professor Cross's two handsome and beautifully illustrated volumes finally dispose of so mean a conception of the biographer's art, and aptly demonstrate that simplicity detracts in no way from the biographical possibilities of any life of achievement. Professor Cross has brought to light a number of new details relating to Sterne, his progenitors, and contemporaries, in many cases insignificant in themselves, but woven so skilfully into the narrative that the superfluities that might reasonably be looked for in a "Life and Times" are entirely absent. Even the dozen or so pages devoted to that usually forbidding part of the biographer's task, a review of the subject's forbears, in his capable hands provides easy and interesting reading. At the same time a laudable restraint has guided his

selection of material, and such inanities as discussion of the identity of the Captain Philips who spitted Sterne's father to the wall at Gibraltar after a mysterious argument about a goose, with which Bagehot taunted Fitzgerald, do not occur. The only superfluity, indeed, that we can find in the work is in the title, which suggests a hybrid performance. The reader is certainly told a great deal about Sterne's "Times," but all is so subordinated to the unity of the main picture that it merely serves to focus the "Shandean lights" with which the author's untiring research and flair for his subject have illuminated a remarkable personality.

Comprendre c'est pardonner. And there is certainly much in Professor Cross's Sterne that may be forgiven. Few readers will fail to bring away from this study a distinct affection for the brave but volatile consumptive who earned Thackeray's bitter but misplaced contempt. Byron's taunt that he preferred "whining over a dead ass to relieving a living mother" has been sufficiently disproved by the contents of the long letter of protest which he addressed to the scheming Dr. Jaques Sterne from Sutton, in 1751. In apparent anxiety to divest himself of any suggestion of partizanship, Professor Cross, in reprinting this letter, laments the slur cast by its writer on his mother's birth. His Uncle Jaques had used Sterne's alleged ill-treatment of his mother to misrepresent his character and thereby ruin his prospects of preferment. In vindicating to a relative—although an estranged one—his conduct to a mother whose ingratitude in the face of most generous treatment culminated in outright repudiation of considerable gifts of money and who accused him of allowing her to languish in a situation unfitted for the daughter of a gentleman, provocation surely licensed the pen that wrote :

... And though it would give me pain enough to report it upon any other occasion, that she was the daughter of a poor Sutler who followed the camp in Flanders, was neither born nor bred to the expectation of a fourth part of what the government allows her; and therefore has reason to be contented with such a provision, though double the sum would be nakedness to my wife.

Far more reprehensible and, perhaps, the only really mean act authoritatively attributed to Sterne was the drafting of the letter for Miss Fourmantelle to despatch in her own name to Garrick, in which the actor's good word for *Tristram Shandy* amongst his influential friends in London was sought.

Far from the unfilial attitude that has been legendarily attributed to him, he was a tender father to a daughter who after his death repaid his tenderness with a vulturine indiscreetness ; while for the welfare and comfort of an equally vulturine wife he was ever solicitous.

Of his amours—though not even his most indulgent critics would seek to condone them—there is nothing on record to prove that they were more than sentimental attachments ; while whatever tincture of a dissolute age entered into his general conduct assumes little added significance from the colour of a habit which in his century emblemed essentially a career rather than a call. To say that Sterne was no angel would be a gross understatement, but as the indecencies of *Tristram Shandy* have so persistently coloured the popular estimate of its author's character, one can the more readily enjoy a portrait delineated by an artist whom the blemishes of his sitter have not blinded to the beauties.

In exposing a false tradition, Professor Cross weights its side of the scale with so generous a measure of probability that the reader imagines him its advocate until he ultimately proceeds relentlessly to demolish it. An early instance of this treatment is seen in his discussion of the respective claims of the Grammar Schools at Heath and Hipperholme to the distinction of having provided Sterne's early education. After an indulgent review of Heath's claim, he concludes in favour of Hipperholme, an award supported in quarters where prejudice arising from association with the opposition establishment had no doubt to be overcome. Thomas Lister, the Master of Heath, has been described by contemporaries of Sterne as a good for naught, and long superannuated, descriptions hard to reconcile with Sterne's own reference to his mentor as " an able master." " It is much more likely," proceeds Professor Cross, " that Thomas Lister, whom, of course, Sterne saw, knew, and heard talked about at Woodhouse, sat for the burlesque portrait of that tutor whom Mr. Walter Shandy would by no means have for his son Tristram." This had been a reasonable probability had it not been disclosed since publication of Professor Cross's work that Sterne's portrait of that tutor, along with much other matter, had been conveyed from a seventeenth-century treatise on education, and therefore in all probability bore no reference to any individual.

Analysis of *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey*, supported by collateral evidence, has enabled Professor Cross to present a

very circumstantial account of Sterne's two Continental tours, though it is misleading to assert that the identification of certain of the more famous characters in the *Sentimental Journey* with real persons provides "a new biographical interest." Most of these identifications were noticed by Fitzgerald in his first edition.

A reference to an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* for March 1925, by Mr. F. A. Pottle, reveals James Boswell as an ardent admirer of Sterne, whom he described as "the best companion" he had ever known. The young Scott, as Professor Cross comments, had not as yet met his man in Dr. Johnson; and it is, perhaps, matter for congratulation that he did not prematurely select his province, as literature would thereby have lost the greatest biography of all time, and readers of to-day one of the most entertaining English biographies of the nineteenth century.

This is a book which demands no previous knowledge of Sterne or of his works in order to be enjoyed. It is written in a clear narrative style that holds the reader's interest like a romance, and should go far towards reviving interest in the great humorist, especially if the reception of the present two volumes paves the way for publication of a less expensive popular edition. At the same time it is a work that no student of Sterne can well dispense with. Besides the vast amount of research both documentary and topographical incorporated in the main text, it is of particular interest to the student on account of the transcript of Sterne's Letter Book and "Memoranda," the excellent bibliography with which it concludes, and a copious index.

In the final chapter, which is devoted to the Letter Book, are transcribed twenty-five letters and the "Memoranda." Many of these letters are here published for the first time, while others furnish for the first time correct texts of letters which have appeared previously only in mutilated form. They moreover throw a light on Sterne's artistry, enabling comparison to be made between his original drafts and his letters as finally despatched.

The bibliography, which extends to thirty-three pages, is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with Sterne's printed works, biographies, etc., and the second with the manuscripts. The entries are carefully and fully collated, and their value enhanced by many interesting notes. A serious omission from it is the work under review, the definitive *Life*!

The illustrations, which include portraits, views, and facsimiles

of title-pages and manuscripts, are plentiful and good. We should like to have seen still more portraits, especially the "Hogarth," which fulfilled a wish of Sterne that his name and the artist's might be handed down to posterity together; but Professor Cross has provided us as it is with so generous a feast it were sheer ingratitude to complain.

JOHN M. TURNBULL.

A Study in Smollett, chiefly "Peregrine Pickle," with a complete collation of the first and second editions.
By HOWARD SWAZY BUCK. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1925. 9½ in., pp. 128. Index. 14s. net.

LIKE Fielding's *Jonathan Wild*, a close parallel not mentioned by the author of this painstaking inquiry, Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* is full of disguised hits at contemporaries, the point and inwardness of which can be appreciated only after a minute study of the dates at which the writer was nursing various grievances; and, again like *Jonathan Wild*, it went into a second edition in which a good deal of the satire was suppressed or turned in a more general and harmless direction. Fielding's work has been shown by Prof. J. E. Wells and M. Digeon to have been put together at different times, before and after *Joseph Andrews*; and the parts added at the later stage bear witness to change of motive on the author's part from that with which he began the story. The book would indeed have been a much more coherent and satisfactory piece of work had certain portions never been written.

It is the same with *Peregrine Pickle*. One large section, the *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*, is conspicuously an interpolation; Smollett also went out of his way to pillory his supposed enemies to an extent that is realised only by those who have examined the first edition. Both books have provided a tempting problem to the analytical critic. Smollett's furnishes exactly the right kind of puzzle for the candidate for doctoral honours. In the main, it is a puzzle to be solved by close examination of the chronology involved. Dr. Buck has fixed his dates with convincing logic, aided by a remarkable stroke of luck, the discovery of a second

edition (1758), which has been hitherto overlooked, and of which he seems to think only one copy is extant.

The crucial problems are two. Who was the actual writer of the scandalous *Memoirs*? Who were the individuals lampooned by Smollett under various fictitious names? The *Memoirs of Lady Vane*—for it was an open secret that she was the subject, if not the writer, of the chronicle—were, it must be remembered, the chief attraction of *Peregrine Pickle* to the contemporary public. Dr. Buck cites much evidence of this fact. He also argues forcibly that there are other interruptions to the smooth coherence of the book. For instance, Smollett must have written the earlier chapters before he went to Paris with Dr. Moore.

The Garrison business is as different from the rest as the purely sardonic parts of *Jonathan Wild* are different from the touching Heartfree episodes. But that is not the chief point of Dr. Buck's investigation. Modern editions of *Peregrine Pickle* differ extensively from the original version; when were the excisions and other alterations made? It has been generally assumed that they date from a second edition, said by Smollett's bibliographer, Anderson, to have come out the same year, 1751. But there turns out to have been no second edition until 1758. This new fact dispels the view that the novel was an immediate and brilliant success; it also gives time for Smollett's altered sentiments towards Garrick, Fielding, and others, who are very differently handled in the two editions.

Smollett was censured for immorality as well as for his libels. In the revision, he took measures to clear himself of this objection too. Dr. Buck's methodical collation shows how much readers of the later editions have been spared. For this we have Smollett to thank—and the critics who persuaded him to mend his ways. But who was responsible for the extensive revision of the *Memoirs*? Was it Smollett, or the person who originally wrote them? The nature of the changes introduced affords a clue, not merely to the question who revised, but also to the question who wrote them in the first instance.

The tradition goes, and there is probably no need to challenge it, that Smollett received a handsome fee for allowing the *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality* to be inserted in the middle of his story. Some have asserted that Smollett actually wrote them, from materials supplied by the lady; others that she wrote them herself. Then, Dr. Shebbeare has been credited with the writing, or at least the

editing, of the lady's story. A similar claim has been put forward for a Dennis Mackercher, said to have been one of her accepted lovers. Dr. Buck shows that there is no real evidence for Mackercher, whilst the feeble and colourless "elegance" of the style rules out Smollett as the writer, though not as editor or reviser. The nature of the revision was such, comprising the addition of matter that must have come from the lady herself, that the hand of Smollett could only have been employed in such minor details as the occasional breaking up of a cumbrous sentence. Nor is it likely that Shebbeare wrote the Memoirs. His style elsewhere shows him incapable of writing like that, whereas Smollett was far too capable a writer. But, Dr. Buck concludes, Shebbeare might have been requested to overlook and correct the narrative composed by the fair and frail autobiographer. The Memoirs were, surely, the work of Lady Vane, possibly touched up by Shebbeare; the revision was hers, with a touch here and there by Smollett.

Most of Smollett's quarrels were due to the real or imaginary rebuffs which he received in his pertinacious efforts to get his worthless tragedy, *The Regicide*, accepted by one or other of the London theatres. Here, again, Dr. Buck has gone minutely into the chronological order of events, and made discoveries that are very illuminating. Perhaps the most important of these is to have settled that Smollett came back from the West Indies a year earlier than was generally supposed, that is, in 1742-43. He proceeded to hawk his play about, meeting only with refusals or promises that were never fulfilled. His resentment fell on innocent as well as guilty persons, and Dr. Buck has made a long series of identifications by tracing the fortunes of the ill-starred play. Besides confirming the accepted identification of Melopoyn, in *Roderick Random*, with Smollett himself, and of Marmozet and Brayer with Garrick and James Lacy, he adds the following to the list: Earl Sheerwit (Lord Chesterfield), Supple (Charles Fleetwood, manager of Drury Lane), Vandal (John Rich, manager of Covent Garden), Bellower (the actor Quin), Lord Rattle (a compound of other patrons). Smollett resumed his attacks in the first edition of *Peregrine Pickle*, and barbed them with more asperity, also letting himself go at Lyttelton and Fielding, obnoxious as patron and author of *Tom Jones*, in which he foolishly believed that Fielding had plagiarised from Roderick's henchman Strap, in the character of Partridge. Lyttelton

had also offended him, so thinks Dr. Buck, by his reluctance to recommend another play of Smollett's of which only a single mention is extant. He and Fielding are Scrag and Spondy, who disappear from the later edition.

Dr. Buck's critical acumen is less trustworthy than his talent for unravelling an obscure entanglement of facts. He attributes Smollett's effectiveness mainly to his language—not his character-drawing, story-telling, or comic invention. True, in his finest scenes, "the savor of the very words is strong," the style is in its own way unsurpassed. But to say that "with Smollett conscious art was almost exclusively a matter of verbal texture," is to be more uncritical than Smollett himself, whose delusion that Fielding had committed a larceny on Strap was certainly not confined to matters of language, style, or verbal texture.

ERNEST A. BAKER.

Keats and Shakespeare. By JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY. Oxford University Press. Pp. xii.+248. 14s. net.

"THIS book," says Mr. Murry in his Prefatory Note, "is simply an attempt to show what Keats was, by telling the story of his inward life, as revealed in his poems and letters during the four years of his poetic career." It is an independent and valuable attempt at reconstruction, which is nevertheless open to criticism at various points. For Mr. Murry, by putting his own interpretation on what he believes to be revealed by Keats, at once exposes himself to attack by those who deduce different conclusions from the data given. "To know a work of literature is to know the soul of the man who created it." It may be so: but "soul" is abstract, intangible, and no two people are likely to agree as to what constitutes the "central being" revealed by a poet's work. Mr. Murry's book is the record of his own experience of Keats, and its worth depends on the honesty of the record. Just in so far as he makes us realise for ourselves his reaction to Keats as "pure poet," he achieves his purpose of helping us to respond to the beauty and significance of "pure poetry." To a great extent Mr. Murry succeeds in this aim. It is impossible to read what he says without the conviction that he has gained from Keats a deeper realisation than before of the worth and meaning of poetic inspiration, and a profound conviction that this inspiration, as he himself puts it, "is not irrelevant

to life, but on the contrary more exactly relevant to it than any other creation of the human spirit . . . pure poetry contains a revelation, and I would far rather stand with the ancients in their belief that the poet is directly inspired by God than with the moderns in theirs that the poet is a *lusus naturæ* and poetry an amusing accident."

The above quotation illustrates the weakness as well as the strength of Mr. Murry's method of writing. Who are these moderns who believe that poetry is an amusing accident? Not, certainly, those whose criticism is most generally accepted or best worth having. Mr. Murry makes assumptions—sometimes founded on his implied or outspoken contempt for his predecessors in the same field, *e.g.* Sir Sidney Colvin or Professor de Selincourt, and proceeds to argue from them, as if they were facts, the truth of which he had established. One of his unproved and unprovable assumptions, namely, "that a right understanding of Keats is the easiest, and perhaps the only possible, way to a right understanding of Shakespeare" (!), accounts for the curiously unsatisfactory title of the book. "Through Keats the poet I penetrated more deeply into Shakespeare the poet; and now through Keats the man I have (in my own belief) penetrated more deeply into Shakespeare the man." So be it. But the title *Keats and Shakespeare* not only does not adequately describe, but does not in any ordinary sense of the word describe at all, what Mr. Murry attempts in his *Study of Keats's Poetic Life from 1816 to 1820*—so runs much more accurately the sub-title of the book.

Or, again, in Keats "poetry and thought and knowledge are one and homogeneous." Consequently "it is not really possible to compromise, as many would like to do, by regarding this, the strangest and most astonishing of all Keats's letters—[i.e. the 'indolent' letter]—as a mere speculation, or as the groping of 'an untrained mind' into the mysteries of metaphysics." The logic of this is not apparent to the ordinary reader, who finds it quite possible to believe that Keats, the great poet of the *Odes*—"directly inspired by God"—to quote Mr. Murry against himself—in whom, *at the moment when he is a great poet*, "poetry and thought and knowledge are one and homogeneous," may nevertheless when he writes the "soul-making letter" exhibit "the groping of an untrained mind into the mysteries of metaphysics." There is no necessary compromise in the belief that when Keats

was writing prose, like Milton, he was using only his left hand. It is not Keats but Mr. Murry who is mistaken. Keats knew at that period of his life that he was not yet ripe for philosophical speculation—and he states the fact in so many words. Why is it "naked impossibility" to believe him, and yet to believe with him and with Mr. Murry that inspiration could and did carry him beyond the level of his uninspired moments? At worst, the one assumption is no more incredible than the other.

Mr. Murry is pleading throughout for other standards than those of "our intellectual minds." For that very reason it is peculiarly irritating to find him on the side of the adversary when it suits him momentarily to ignore what is surely the central position that he is out to defend. "For poetry," he says finely, "in its highest and purest forms is one of the few roads that remain open to the eternal reality. . . . We have to take seriously knowledge that is not, and by its own nature cannot be, expressed in propositions; we have to believe that such knowledge exists and that men have possessed it. . . ."

Mr. Murry says other things finely in a book which contains much food for thought. Nevertheless it is not, in the writer's opinion, a successful book, for it is vitiated by paradox and by the desire to be original at whatever sacrifice of perspicuity and sincerity of feeling.

EDITH J. MORLEY.

Mulcaster's Elementarie. Edited, with an Introduction, by E. T. CAMPAGNAC, Professor of Education in the University of Liverpool. [Oxford]: At the Clarendon Press. 1925. (Tudor and Stuart Library.) Pp. xxiv. [16], 292. 10s. 6d. net.

ENGLISH scholars and especially those who are interested in the educational methods of the Elizabethan period will welcome this reprint of Mulcaster's *Elementarie*, a book which has hitherto only been accessible in the great libraries, though his *Positions* was reprinted in 1888.* They will, however, I think, find it a strangely disappointing book. Here we have a quarto of some 300 pages

* Is Professor Campagnac correct in stating that this edition was produced for the Cambridge University Press? My copy of the book has a title-page describing it as "Reprinted for Henry Barnard and R. H. Quick by Harrison & Sons . . . 1887" and in front of this another title, apparently a cancel or paste-on, giving the name of Longmans, Green & Co., and the date 1888. The copy in the British Museum corresponds exactly.

written by a teacher of experience and eminence in his own day, possessed with an evident love of and respect for English, having thought deeply over its defects and inconveniences and with very definite views as to its reform, setting out to compile a complete system for "the right writing of our English tongue," and yet with all this throwing only the most fitful and tantalising gleams of light on the language of his day, its vocabulary, its spelling, or its punctuation—though all these are discussed—or even on the extent to which it was deliberately made a subject of teaching in the schools. It is true that we have only the first part of the *Elementarie*, or course of instruction, that which was to contain "the matter and substance thereof," and that the second which was to cover "the manner and form of teaching it" (p. 58) was probably never written and certainly never printed, yet the first part should, had Mulcaster not been such an irritatingly pompous and long-winded writer, have told us much. Especially should we have expected some definite information as to current spelling from the chapters in which the force of the various vowels and consonants is discussed. Mulcaster here indicates in some cases the spelling which he prefers, but he has very little to say about alternative forms. He gives us a table of nearly 8,000 words, which he considers the commonest in the language, including such familiar words as ("hookunhappie," "oiace," "lugpudding," and "trulliebub") spelt as he would spell them, and he seems to have got the compositor of his book to conform fairly well to the spellings preferred; thus "gide" is printed for "guide," "fantsie" for "fancy," etc., and the diacritics by which he distinguishes between "strong" and "weak," *c* and *g*, and final *e* pronounced (as in *degré*) or mute, are generally used quite correctly. Of his system of spelling there is little to be said. It is sensible enough and by no means revolutionary, but, like other attempts at reform, it had no visible influence on the English of its time. It was, one notes, partly dictated by considerations of ease of writing, which Mulcaster thought had much influence on spelling, and was for example the cause why *ss* is often written when *zz* is pronounced (p. 107). Still, in spite of its shortcomings the book is certainly one which should be read by all who wish to do advanced textual work on books of Mulcaster's period, for they may gather "manie pretie notes" from it. Unfortunately, the reading is none too easy, for Mulcaster doth protest too much, and at times his anxiety to justify views which he holds tends to obscure the views themselves.

The editor's introduction is not very helpful, and if, as he states, there were two printings of Mulcaster's *Elementarie* in 1582, should he not at least have told us whether or how they differ and from which, the earlier or the later, his text is reprinted?

R. B. McK.

John Cary, Engraver, Map, Chart, and Print Seller and Globe-maker, 1754-1835. A Bibliography with an Introduction and Biographical Notes. By Sir HERBERT GEORGE FORDHAM. Cambridge University Press. 1925. Pp. xxxiv. and 139, with 2 half-tone illustrations. 10s. 6d.

STUDIES in the evolution of geographical technique in its various branches have been all too few in this country, but the subject is now receiving increasing attention. All students of cartography owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Herbert George Fordham for this scholarly account of the life and work of John Cary, who may fairly be regarded as the pioneer of the modern British school of map-making and the founder of a distinctively British technique.

The work contains a general and biographical introduction, followed by a bibliography, which is an "exact and critical description of the series of publications which bear John Cary's name as author, engraver or publisher simply, during the lengthy period of his activity and of that of his immediate successors, which extends . . . from at least as early as 1779 to 1844 and possibly later."

Of particular interest is Cary's connection with the phase of canal construction in this country and with the development of rapid stage-coach traffic in so far as it was dependent on accurate road maps. Many of his earlier publications are concerned with one or other of these two branches, and he was responsible for the production of some of the best of the forerunners of the modern road-book. Another of his noteworthy achievements was the production of William Smith's geological maps and memoir, which formed the starting-point of scientific stratigraphical geology. In this connection it may be of interest to note that William Smith was largely concerned with canal construction, acting as engineer to a Royal Commission appointed to examine the British canals. It was while engaged on this work that Smith found opportunity to observe the long continuous sections upon which his system of

geology was so largely based, and it may well be that he first made Cary's acquaintance while on this work. Cary's reproductions of Smith's maps are an excellent testimony to the accurate and artistic technique which characterised all his work. As artistic productions the maps compare not unfavourably with their modern successors.

The book is well produced and clearly written, and contains two half-tone illustrations, one of the title-page of Cary's first Road-Book and the other of his commercial book-plate. There is a classified index-list and an appendix giving, *inter alia*, the pedigree of the Cary family.

It may confidently be recommended to all serious students of cartography as an invaluable contribution to the literature of the subject, giving evidence of much detailed and painstaking research on the part of the author.

S. W. WOOLDRIDGE.

A Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature. By C. S. NORTHUP, with contributions by JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS and ANDREW KEOGH. Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1925. Pp. 507. 5 dollars.

THE *Register of Bibliographies* is a useful addition to the series of *Cornell Studies in English*. The editor and his collaborators are scholars whose names have won respect, and there are many evidences in their work that they have exercised a wise discretion in rejecting as well as in selecting. It should be noted at the outset that it is not a bibliography that they have prepared, but an index to bibliographies. So near has Professor Northup come to completeness, however, in some sections that there is some danger of readers looking to his book for information they have no right to expect to find in it. His beneficiaries, in fact, may be led to expect the same fullness of reference everywhere that they find in certain parts. This is not due, in the main, to any deficiency in the editors but to the fact that in bibliography there are serious gaps. Some of these Professor Northup refers to in his preface; others appear when we turn for aid in particular problems. For instance, though bibliography is a matter of printers and publishers as well as of authors, yet the history of eighteenth-century printing and publishing

has not yet been faced. It is not altogether the editor's fault, therefore, if he fails to direct us in our search for information about the Tonsons. Perhaps we are here touching on a defect in our bibliographical methods. Mr. Pollard's long services for bibliography have taught us to look to printer and publisher as the *terra nova* to be charted. Others like Mr. T. J. Wise have taken cross-sections and compiled bibliographies of authors ; others again in their subject-bibliographies have given us yet other cross-sections. Professor Northup's section on *Printing and Publishing* reveals to us how great is the task that awaits the bibliographers that undertake to follow up Mr. Pollard's work. So far as the present writer has been able to test the new *Register*, it is remarkably accurate and often full. Its chief defect is that the index does not do justice to its fullness. The general arrangement of the *Register* being alphabetical, it might seem that a simple author-index is all that is required ; but subject-headings take an important place in the alphabetical arrangement, and many subordinate alphabetical series occur therefore under these subject headings. Consequently the only secure and immediate reference must be the index ; but this test the index fails to meet. And as there is no detached list of subject-headings and no preliminary note on the limitations of the index, one is frequently at a loss for guidance, while there is a danger of assuming that what is not in the index is not in the book. For instance *Dunlop* is not to be found in the index nor alphabetically in the Register under D ; one has to run it to earth under the subject-heading *Fiction*. There ought to have been at least an index entry "*Dunlop, see Fiction.*" It is unseemly, however, to be critical of so serviceable an instrument as this that Professor Northup has put into our hands. It is no very serious fault if we have to learn that it is even more complete than its index suggests.

A. W. REED.

The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire. By A. MAWER and F. M. STENTON. English Place-Name Society. Vol. II. Cambridge University Press. 1925. Pp. xxx.+274. 18s. net.

THE systematic investigation of English place-names is of twentieth-century growth. Since Skeat began the work in 1901, diverse county monographs have seen the light ; these are of very unequal

value, varying between the extremes of sound scholarship and mere amateur effort.

The foundation of the Place-Name Society marks a notable advance in this branch of research. The Society's aim is the scientific investigation of the whole field of English place-names, and the method to be pursued is co-operative research under expert guidance. This is the method by which the Philological Society brought the *New English Dictionary* into being ; and, controlled by a body of distinguished specialists—philologists, archaeologists, and historians,—the Place-Name Society also may confidently be expected to produce another such monument to English scholarship.

The Director of the Survey is Professor A. Mawer, the real founder of the Society, through whose learning and eloquence, by the bye, the encouragement and support of the British Academy were won for the new venture. An account of the studies visualised by him will be found in his two published lectures : *English Place-Name Study* (Proceedings of the British Academy, 1921), and *Place-Names, an Essay in Co-operative Study* (Liverpool University Press, 1922).

In 1924 appeared the first volume of the Society's publications : Part I., *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, edited by Allen Mawer and F. M. Stenton, with chapters by six other distinguished scholars ; Part II., *The Chief Elements used in English Place-Names*, by Allen Mawer.

The second volume, now before us, heads the list of the county volumes planned.

A glance at the Introduction will show the value of this kind of research to the historian. The evidence of the place-names supports that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the British occupation of the plain at the foot of the Chilterns down to near the end of the sixth century. It appears, further, that South Buckinghamshire was colonised by Middle Saxons ; while Angles settled at a later date in the north of the shire. Buckinghamshire belonged, of course, to the Danelaw, and the Scandinavian settlers have left their mark on the consonants of various place-names scattered about the county. To go further afield, the occurrence of several instances of the name *Walton* hard by an important and ancient estate, points to groups of British serfs attached to early Saxon manors, and place-names such as *Quainton* reveal the Saxon woman as a landowner.

It should be borne in mind that the solution of the riddles of the Buckinghamshire names is peculiarly difficult, owing to the scarcity of Anglo-Saxon documentary evidence. The most trustworthy material for this county is obtained from the eighteenth-century Assize Rolls ; and the information furnished by these " has shown that they should be regarded as one of the principal, though they have been hitherto one of the least considered, sources for place-name study."

The value of these researches to the philologist needs no comment. A four-page sketch of the dialect of Buckinghamshire, as illustrated by its place-names, affords a useful introduction to this subject.

The names still remaining unsolved are astonishingly few in number ; and it must not be forgotten that the authors have chosen always to point out, and never to slur over, any difficulties. When they are able to offer a morally certain interpretation, e.g. *Smewnes* <**Smeawines*, *Amersham* <**Ealhmodesham*, they are content to leave the decision open.

In the case of one unexplained name one ventures to submit a possible explanation. Is it not likely that behind the earliest forms of *Saunderton* lies an A.S. form **Sandendune*, and that dissimilation (v. *I.P.N.*, p. 106) accounts for the *r*? The existence of a personal-name *Sanda* in A.S. seems to be indicated by the forms *sondenstede*, *sondemstyde* (modern *Sanderstead*) of the A.S. charter of Alfred dux. Or, if dissimilation be rejected here, why should not Mr. *Sanda*, as well as Messrs. *Doda*, *Ifa*, and *Huda* (v. p. 110), have had his name extended by an *r*-suffix?

The book contains complete lists of personal and topographical elements, some interesting material for the study of field-names, and a full index.

May one emphasise again that the publications of the Place-Name Society have not solely an interest for philologists, but appeal to a great many other classes of readers ; and that the larger the membership of the Society, the more rapidly will Professor Mawer and his colleagues and helpers be able to press on with their interesting researches? The address of the Hon. Sec. is The University, Liverpool.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. Volume XI. Collected by OLIVER ELTON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1925. 8vo. Pp. 169. 7s. 6d.

MR. L. C. MARTIN's alluring title to his study—"A Forgotten Poet of the Seventeenth Century"—may possibly tempt some of his readers to pass over his interesting introductory remarks for the extracts, which follow, from the poetry of Nathaniel Wanley (1634-1680). As a lyrist, Wanley seems to have been influenced chiefly by Henry Vaughan, from whose works Mr. Martin cites several parallels; but in places the style of these extracts is almost equally suggestive of George Herbert, whilst at least one of them—*The Fall*—bears the touch of Herrick. The effusive and rhetorical *Witch of Endor*, save for a few purple patches, would not appear to justify Mr. Martin's assertions that Wanley's "narrative works are hardly inferior to his lyrical pieces" and that "it were surely no bad bargain to give a *Gondibert* or *Davideis* in exchange." The article by Mr. Allan Monkhouse, on "The Words and the Play," is disappointing. Without demanding the impossible—a conclusive judgement on an eternal problem—we might reasonably have expected some definite suggestions as to the nature, cause and present position of the issue between the art of the dramatist and that of the actor or producer; but, instead, the writer confines his remarks to quotation or cautious generalisation. Professor Wyld's valuable essay on "Diction and Imagery in Anglo-Saxon poetry" is itself the best refutation of the author's disclaimer to the title of literary critic: for what but criticism of the best sort is this minute examination of word and phrase as a means of determining poetic value? Criticism of Anglo-Saxon literature too often degenerates into vague sentimentalism: but the line of study here suggested might well be followed further, and might serve to break down the academic barrier between literary and linguistic research. Professor Wyld makes a strong case for the continuity of tradition "between the old native poets and those of much later days." This article is certainly the most important in the volume. Restrictions of space have compelled Miss Edith Birkhead to compress a very considerable body of material into a short article on "Sentiment and Sensibility in the Eighteenth Century Novel," a subject worthy of a larger and more comprehensive study. Her quotations illustrating the earlier uses of

"sentimental" and "sensibility" answer their purpose, but more might have been made of the older "sentiment" as employed, for instance, in the age of Addison and extended from the epic to the novel. Mr. H. V. Routh, writing on "This World's Ideas of the Next," touches on a wide range of literature which includes Plato and Dante, the Homeric poems and the Edda. The vision of the afterworld, reflecting the contemporary view of life as well as the imagination of a particular author, deserves consideration as something which "may widen our knowledge of human nature, or strengthen our confidence in what it can achieve." Christianity, with its promise of victory over death, necessarily added clarity to all such conceptions; but, as Mr. Routh points out—and it is the very core of his argument—the real strength of the vision, whether Christian or Pagan, depends upon the measure of human character which it represents, since "the Hades-vision must be an adventure into hidden knowledge which can be gained only by men who have earned the privilege." A logical sequel to this theme is provided in the article by Miss Spens, on "Chapman's Ethical Thought," which traces the progress of man's inner consciousness a stage further and through the Renaissance era. A brief but telling analysis of Chapman's art serves to support the claim "that almost alone of Elizabethans he is conscious of the way in which his inner life answered to external stimulus"; which means that his imagination is more of the seventeenth century than of the sixteenth. The article is an important contribution towards a neglected subject—the intellectual and philosophic aspects of Elizabethan literature.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

Songs from the British Drama. Edited by EDWARD BLISS REED. Pp. xi.+386. 1 plate. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1925. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 18s. net.

"ON the whole, this collection," says its compiler, "should do more than to offer certain poems, the flower of what is now a lost art; it should enable the reader to understand how far removed is our emotional yet tuneless drama from the lyric stage of the Tudor and Stuart reigns." The book certainly contains more than the flower of a now lost art, for it includes not only living blossoms

from Yeats, Galsworthy, and Clemence Dane, but also some eighteenth-century specimens (such as *Rule Britannia*) which hardly merit the name. To some extent, also, it succeeds in showing the gradual deterioration in the dramatic use of song from Elizabethan times, through the Restoration period, until in the eighteenth century dramatic song became, as it were, a monstrous efflorescence upon the fat soil of opera.

Professor Reed adds to his text of the songs an appendix, *Some Aspects of Song in the Drama*, in which he touches briefly on the effects which the earlier dramatists gained by the use of song; and a series of notes on the songs themselves which deals mainly with the stage directions and context surrounding the songs. The notes are, however, in most cases, hardly full enough to achieve their purpose, *i.e.* to suggest the dramatic effect of the song in question to the reader who is unacquainted with the play in which it occurs. To one who already knows the play the notes are, of course, for this purpose unnecessary, the more so as each song is accompanied in the text by such stage directions as are given in the earliest version of the play from which it is taken. And here it may be regretted that the compiler has adhered throughout to the practice of using the earliest possible sources for the songs. In the case of Ophelia's songs, for example, "And will he not come again?" and "How should I your true love know?" have been taken from the 1603 Quarto which gives a very inferior version, especially of the latter song.

It seems a pity, too, that Prof. Reed has confined himself, as he says, to "plays that have been acted, in all probability," as much that one would like to see in his anthology is necessarily excluded from it by this restriction. This is true particularly of certain songs from the drama of to-day, which may, after all, be performed to-morrow, and which go some way to disprove Prof. Reed's statement that the art of dramatic song-writing is a lost one.

But perhaps for the majority of its readers the book's chief claim to shelf-room will lie in the fact that here to one's hand is a convenient source of reference for many of those brief and lovely snatches of verse which leap unbidden, and too often incomplete, into the tantalised memory, there to haunt unceasingly until, after sometimes laborious search among originals, the teasing ghost is laid.

L. FIELD.

Speculum. A Journal of Mediaeval Studies. Vol. I. No. I. Jan. 1926.
Published Quarterly by the Mediaeval Academy of America.

THIS first part of the Journal of the new Mediaeval Academy of America, which is edited by Prof. E. K. Rand, opens with an account by Prof. G. R. Coffman of the circumstances which led up to the formation of the Academy, the initial impulse having been Prof. J. M. Manly's presidential address before the Modern Language Association of America in 1920. Other papers of general interest include "The Spread of Ideas in the Middle Ages," by Prof. C. H. Haskins, which deals mainly with the intellectual centres of mediaeval Europe and incidentally gives us the information that the normal time taken from Rome to Canterbury was seven weeks, but urgent news could make the journey in four. The distance in a straight line is about 850 miles and would hardly be less than 1000 by a practicable route, which gives an average speed of some 20-36 miles per day, travelling without rests. "The Progenitors of Golias," by Prof. J. H. Hanford, deals with the perhaps hardly soluble problems of the famous "goliardic" literature. More technical papers include "The Home of the Easter Play," a discussion of whether the "Visitatio Sepulchri" originated, as has generally been thought, in Europe during the tenth century or, according to the recent theory of Dr. Joseph Klapper of Breslau, in Jerusalem between the years 500 and 750. The author of the paper, Prof. Karl Young, argues against Dr. Klapper's view. "The Vocabulary of the *Annales Fuldenses*," by Prof. C. H. Beeson, "Two Manuscripts of the School of St. Denis," by Prof. A. M. Friend, and "Two Poems ascribed to Frederick II. and 'Rex Fredericus,'" by Prof. Hermann H. Thornton, will appeal more particularly to those expert in the mediaeval literature of the Continent. The number closes with Notes and Reviews.

The Mediaeval Academy of America deserves the support of all who are interested in mediaeval studies and more especially in Mediaeval Latin, the literature of which, coming within the scope of neither the classical student nor the student of Modern Languages, has hitherto suffered from an unjust and unwise neglect. The minimum annual subscription, which covers the quarterly *Speculum*, is \$5. Those desirous of becoming members should communicate with the Clerk of the Academy, Room 312, No. 248, Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A., from whom further information may be obtained.

R. B. McK.

The Year's Work in English Studies. Vol. V. 1924. Edited for the English Association by F. S. BOAS and C. H. HERFORD. Oxford University Press. London : Humphrey Milford. 1926. Pp. 318. Price 7s. 6d. net (to Members of the English Association, 3s. 6d. net).

The Year's Work is now well established as indispensable to any serious student of English literature. The volume for 1924 shows again an advance in size on its predecessors, whether because of the growing numbers of books falling within its scope or because of the more thorough listing and description of them. For the first time the name of Sir Sidney Lee is absent from the title-page. He edited the first volume alone, Volumes II.-IV. in conjunction with Dr. F. S. Boas, but his biographical labours, and possibly his fear, unhappily realised, that little time might be left him for these, made him unable to take part in the volume before us. The Association and Dr. Boas are fortunate in finding so worthy a co-editor as Prof. Herford to succeed him. The contributors of the thirteen chapters of which the book consists are the same as those in the preceding volume, save that Prof. E. V. Gordon undertakes Old and Middle English in place of Miss Wardale and Mr. P. G. Thomas. The other contributors are Prof. Abercrombie, Prof. Tolkien, Dr. A. W. Reed, Dr. F. S. Boas, Prof. Grierson, Mr. A. M. Clark, Profs. Allardyce Nicoll, Edith Morley and C. H. Herford, Mr. H. V. Routh and Mr. Arundell Esdaile. The articles are all good, but that by Prof. Tolkien on "Philology : General Works" is perhaps worthy of especial notice on account of the skill with which he has been able to make a most readable chapter on a subject which often tends to dreadful dullness. It is true that he had some work of exceptional interest to deal with, including Jespersen's *Philosophy of Grammar*, but this does not always ensure interesting criticism. The chapter on the "Elizabethan Period : Poetry and Prose," by Prof. Grierson and A. M. Clark is this time one of the most important in the volume, for it so happens that in 1924 a considerable amount of interesting work falls within this division, while the dramatic section, outside Shakespeare, seems to comprise fewer important books than usual.

In case a reprint should be called for, it may be noted that the last four leaves of the chapter on the "Elizabethan Period" have the headline of the preceding chapter.

R. B. MCK.

SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

BY H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS

ANGLIA, Vol. L. (neue Folge Vol. XXXVIII.), April 1926—

Zur Geschichte der Black-Letter Broadside Ballad (E. v. Schaubert),
pp. 1-61.

Nochmals zur Frage des Prologs in Chaucers "Legend of Good
Women" (John Koch), pp. 62-9.

Hugo Lange und die Lösung der Legendenprologfrage bei Chaucer
(V. Langhans), pp. 70-103.

Nachtrag zu meinem letzten Aufsatz über Chaucers Legendenprolog
(J. Koch), pp. 104-5.

CORNHILL MAGAZINE, January 1926—

Some Miner Poets (William Fryer Harvey), pp. 40-50.

— March 1926—

Newman and Matthew Arnold (Henry Tristram), pp. 309-19.

— April 1926—

Appleby School: An Extra-Illustration to Boswell (Algernon Gissing),
pp. 404-14.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN, Vol. LX. (2/3 Heft), March 1926—

Der Lautwert des runischen R. zur Wikingerzeit (O. L. Jiriczek),
pp. 217-37.

Chaucer's "Wardrobe" (J. W. Draper), pp. 238-51.

The use of the word in *The Prioresses Tale*, B. 1762. An interesting account
of mediæval sanitation.

Ein nordenglisches moralisch-religiöses Versfragment aus dem 15.
Jahrhundert (Erna Fischer), pp. 252-61.

83 lines from a binding in the library of St. Mary's Parish, Marlborough.

Wordsworth and the *Ancient Mariner* (C. C. Barnard), pp. 262-71.

On English War-Slang (P. L. Jaeger), pp. 272-99.

Die grammatischen Rangstufen (O. Jespersen), pp. 300-9.

ENGLISH STUDIES, Vol. VIII., April 1926—

Edmund Spenser and Jonker Jan van der Noot (W. J. B. Pienaar),

pp. 33-44.

The authorship of the *Visions of Bellay* and of *Petrarch*.

HERRIG'S ARCHIV FÜR DAS STUDIUM DER NEUEREN SPRACHEN UND LITERATUREN, Vol. 149 (New Series 49), March 1926—

Goldsmith über Deutschland, II. (Hans Marcus), pp. 177-211.

Ein dramatischer Kunsthändler der englischen Renaissance (A. Munday), I. (Ph. Aronstein), pp. 212-8.

Cicero im englischen Geistesleben des 16. Jahrhunderts, II. (Anna-Brunhilde Modersohn), pp. 219-45.

JAHRBUCH DER SAMMLUNG KIPPENBERG, Vol. 5, 1926—

Die erste englische Ausgabe [1779] des "Werther" (Kippenberg).
With facsimiles.

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXV., January 1926—

The Beowulfian *Maðelode* (Albert Stanburrough Cook), pp. 1-6.

On the Reception of Richardson in Germany (Lawrence Marsden Price), pp. 7-33.

The *Mirror for Magistrates* and Elizabethan Tragedy (Willard Farnham), pp. 66-78.

On the Hall-Marston Controversy (E. A. Beckwith), pp. 84-9.

LIBRARY, Vol. VI., March 1926—

"Facsimile" Reprints of Old Books (A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, R. W. Chapman and W. W. Greg), pp. 305-28.

The Riddle of Jonson's Chronology (W. W. Greg), pp. 340-7.

Catalogue of Records at Stationers' Hall, pp. 348-57.
With a note by A. W. Pollard.

MASK, Vol. 12, April 1926—

A Reproduction of Horwood's Celebrated Eighteenth Century Plan of London (First Eight Plates).

Some Facts and Dates about London Theatres, and those Associated with them, pp. 53-65.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, Vol. XLI., February 1926—

Otway's Duels with Churchill and Settle (Roswell G. Ham), pp. 73-80.

William Somervile's Earliest Poem (Raymond D. Havens), pp. 80-86.

Notes on *Fulgens and Lucres*: New Light on the Interlude (Louis B. Wright), pp. 97-100.

An Interlude written for performance at banquets.

A New Word and a New Meaning (Oliver Farrar Emerson), pp. 125-7.
Copuses and *berm*.

More Light on Spenser's Linguistics (John W. Draper), pp. 127-8.

On Spenser's etymology of *tanistry* and *Scot*.

The Author of Two Byron Apocrypha (Howard Mumford Jones), pp. 129-31.

Lord Byron's Farewell to England and *Lord Byron's Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, Vol. XLI., March 1926—

Spenser's Dragon (Whitney Wells), pp. 143-57.

Joseph Trapp and the Aristotelian "Catharsis" (Marvin T. Herrick), pp. 158-63.

Two Notes on Blake (Frederick E. Pierce), pp. 169-70.

On *Vala*, viii. 500-1, and *The Book of Urizen*, iv. 6.

The Crux in the *Peterborough Chronicle* (Oliver Farrar Emerson), pp. 170-2.

On *lōf and grin*.

Julius Cæsar and Ovid (Martha Hale Shackford), pp. 172-4.

Parallels between *Julius Cæsar*, i. iii. and ii. ii. and *Metamorphoses*, XV.

Scott, Manzoni, Rovani (Rudolph Altrocchi), pp. 175-6.

King Alfred's Interpretation of *Exodus* xxii. 18 (Otto B. Schlutter), pp. 177-8.

Cornelius Agrippa and Henry Vaughan (Alexander C. Judson), pp. 178-81.

Note on John Lyly's *Midas* (W. P. Mustard), p. 193.

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The *Epilogue to Dramatis Personæ* (Watson Kirkconnell), pp. 213-9.

Midnights Meditations (1646). A Bibliographical Puzzle (C. A. Moore), pp. 220-6.

Monster-spawning Nile-mud in Spenser (C. W. Lemmi), pp. 234-8.

Drayton and Shakespeare (J. William Hebel), pp. 248-50.

Parallels between *Piers Gaveston* and *Venus and Adonis*.

Concerning *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Montemayor's *Diana* (T. P. Harrison, Jr.), pp. 251-2.

A Woman conceals what she knows not (Richard Jente), pp. 253-4.

Note on i. *Henry IV.*, ii. iii. 112.

MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW, Vol. XXI., April 1926—

Bartholomew Yong, Translator (T. P. Harrison), pp. 129-39.

The Good and Bad Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Love's Labour's Lost* (G. Hjort), pp. 140-6.

Italian Influence in Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* (V. M. Jeffery), pp. 147-58.

The Date of Adam Davy's *Dreams* (Oliver Farrar Emerson), pp. 187-9.
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